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# ALEXANDER DUFF

## PIONEER OF MISSIONARY EDUCATION

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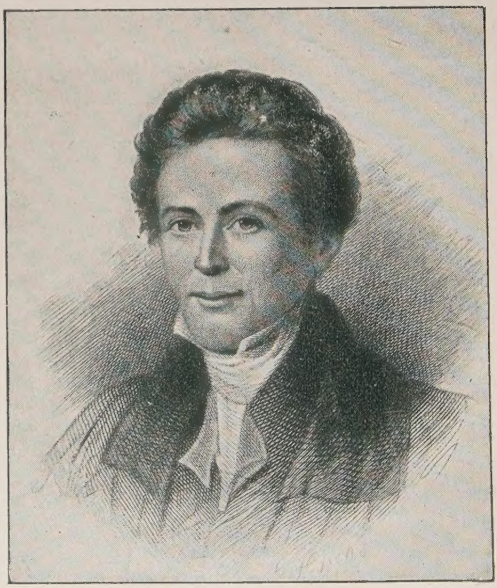

ALEXANDER DUFF
AT THIRTY

# ALEXANDER DUFF

## PIONEER OF MISSIONARY EDUCATION

*By*

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EVANGELICAL
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

# EDITORIAL NOTE

THIS volume is the second of a uniform series of new missionary biographies.

The series makes no pretence of adding new facts to those already known. The aim rather is to give to the world of to-day a fresh interpretation and a richer understanding of the life and work of great missionaries.

A group of unusually able writers are collaborating, and three volumes will be issued each year.

The enterprise is being undertaken by the United Council for Missionary Education, for whom the series is published by the Student Christian Movement.

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TO

DAVID AND JAMES

# AUTHOR'S PREFACE

Some apology is needed for the appearance of a new sketch of the life of Alexander Duff, especially as the present writer cannot lay claim to any special sources of information which were not available when the earlier biographies were written. The reader will not find in this book fresh light on Duff, except in so far as the course of events in itself proves a man's work and makes clear its strength and weakness. It is, however, precisely for this reason that such a new attempt to estimate this famous missionary's life and personality may be considered not untimely. To those who are interested in Indian affairs it is a familiar fact that the whole system of education is in the melting-pot, and this is at least as true of Christian education as of the wider national system. Almost a hundred years have passed since Duff turned Calcutta upside down, and the changes made in those years have been even greater than men like Duff and Macaulay expected, though different in many respects from the course they anticipated. Educational ideas can often best be examined when they are incarnated in persons, and the study of Duff's life and work in relation to the problem of Indian education and missionary policy is, at least in the writer's opinion, a singularly rewarding one.

It is my own belief, which I hope I have justified in the following pages, that the essential thing about

Duff was not so much his policy (though that was important enough) but the courage, insight and comprehensiveness of his approach to the problems of his time. It is that quality of mind and spirit which India needs to-day. In Duff's time the initiative and leadership lay with Europeans. To-day it lies with Indians, especially in the sphere of education, and it is as certain as anything can be in this uncertain world that the place of Indian leadership will increase until it is complete. But the lessons of Duff's life are not the less valuable for that.

I wish to make acknowledgment of the great debt I owe to the standard life of Alexander Duff by the late Dr George Smith. I have carefully studied this work both in its original form and in the later abridgments, which contain in certain places additional matter. For the main outline of events I have been almost entirely dependent on Dr Smith's work, and this should be stated without any ambiguity. At the same time I have read whatever I could find in the way of contemporary biography that would shed light either on Duff's personality or on the times he lived in, and I have found Trevelyan's well-known *Education of the People of India* especially useful. For the personal side of the life I have found the *Memorials of Alexander Duff*, by his son, useful as a supplement and occasionally a corrective to Dr Smith's book. I have also investigated the Government pronouncements on public questions so far as they bore on Duff's work, and have had the advantage of conversation in India with men whose fathers had known Duff, and who could communicate that touch of personal reminiscence which is so stimulating to a biographer.

I am greatly indebted to my friend and late colleague in the Student Christian Movement, Mrs J. W. Woodhouse, who has not only revised the manuscript, but has worked in a considerable amount of material, especially in the portions of the book that deal with Duff's early life. Chapter III is her work in its entirety. Not only there, however, but throughout the book I have profited by her judgment and literary skill.

I have to thank the Rev. J. Fairley Daly for help in revising my references to Scottish affairs, though I do not wish to suggest that he is responsible for any opinions that are expressed. Dr W. S. Urquhart of the Scottish Churches' College, Calcutta, has also read the book and made some corrections. The Rev. A. Duff Watson, a grandson of Dr Duff, has kindly helped me with notes on the earlier years and guidance about books. The work of seeing the book through the press has been entirely done in London, and thanks are due to Miss Cautley and the other officers of the United Council for Missionary Education for undertaking this labour.

Lastly, I have to express my gratitude to my wife for the continual advice, stimulus and criticism, without which I should never have completed the work.

W. P.

Calcutta
*November* 1922

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTORY

No one ever forgets his first sight of Calcutta. Whether the traveller lands from a steamer in the Hooghly river, or comes by train to the station on the river's western bank and crosses the bridge packed with bullock-carts, pedestrians and motor-cars, he is speedily in the midst of an amazing medley of old and new. As he makes his way through the city he is jostled by the most varied types of humanity. There is not the same range of nationality and race that is found in Constantinople or Port Said or even Marseilles, but there is the mingling of modern civilization, imported from the West, with the older Indian life still going on, and even in this great city little changed from its ancient ways. Bazaars, shrines, cinemas, mosques, beggars, students, officials, merchants, soldiers and red-turbaned policemen meet his eye in the crowded streets. There is the great shrine of Kali where daily the goats are slaughtered to the dread goddess, and the watercourse where, visible to the eye of faith, the true Ganges flows to the sea. Great mercantile firms divide with those of Bombay the business undertakings of all India, and here the mills and factories on the Hooghly banks have their offices and armies of clerks. The High Court may be in session, with its crowd of pleaders and

anxious clients. The city has more students than any other in the world, members of a University which has colleges of every faculty and every type.

As a centre of Indian life Calcutta is, when we compare it with Benares or other famous Hindu cities, a place of yesterday. In the days of Akbar it was a village and little more. It owes its growth to the traders of the East India Company, for Job Charnock set up his factory here, and in doing so laid the foundation of modern industrial Calcutta. By 1752 the population had risen to near a quarter of a million, and it was then that the ruler of Bengal, Suraj-ud-Dowlah, fell on Calcutta from his own city of Murshidabad, and there followed the Black Hole tragedy and later the rise of Clive and the beginnings of British power in India.

At the time at which this narrative opens, the beginning of the nineteenth century, Calcutta was very different from the Calcutta of to-day. The East India Company was possibly at its lowest level of enlightenment. It had developed trade and established government, but it had done almost nothing else. So far as it had a conscious policy, it was to keep out those forces of education and reform which might, and indeed certainly would, modify or overthrow its own absolutism. Of education there was nothing in Calcutta and all North India but two or three institutions where the old Arabic or Sanskrit learning was taught. The language of Government and the Courts was Persian, and the only learning which was officially encouraged was the lore of the ancient books.

There were, however, signs of a new day approaching. Hindus who cared for education had built the

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Hindu College, where an English education was given, and influences were set at work inimical to the whole Hindu system of which we shall have occasion to treat at length in later chapters. An English-speaking population had arisen through the necessity of providing the English merchants with intermediaries through whom they could deal with the Indian population. But of the higher, more idealistic, more cultivated side of European life the Indian saw little or nothing, and no means were provided whereby he could do so.

Missionaries were not allowed into India at all by the Company in the days of William Carey, and only on special permit up to 1833. Such work as they did up to the time of the beginning of our story was almost exclusively evangelistic work in the open air or in preaching booths. The thoughtful, educated classes were not reached.

If contact with the civilization of the West was limited and partial, the things which are most conspicuous in the India of to-day were also almost entirely absent. Political impotence and chaotic government, combined with the increasing power of Western commercialism, had almost destroyed both knowledge of and interest in the old Indian culture, and the mightiest force in modern India, that of all-India Nationalism, had not been born.

The factors that have created the Calcutta of to-day from the Calcutta of a hundred years ago are manifold, but among them stand out certain personalities as some of the most powerful of all the influences that have been exerted upon India. The great Lord William Bentinck, one of the finest of all the Governors-General, who was in power

from 1830 till 1835, is one of these. Ram Mohan Roy, the great Indian leader, is another—to both of these we shall return again. A third, and not inferior in native power to either of the other two, is Alexander Duff.

These three men—there are others worthy of mention, but these are the outstanding men in their respective and very diverse walks of life—lived and did their work in India at what it is customary to call a "psychological" moment. That is, they lived when great forces, long concealed, were beginning to work, and they had the kind of temper which enables a man to discern the signs of the times, and to take action which affects not only the day in which he lives, but the generations that come after him.

There are many studies of Indian politics and education, and in some which make a claim to scholarly completeness the name of Duff is not mentioned. For he was a missionary, and never claimed to be anything else. But he is one of the small band of men who have made a permanent mark on India, and he is one of her greatest servants because he, almost alone in his day, saw the clash of forces as it was and fearlessly preached a positive and constructive message adequate to the tremendous intellectual and spiritual needs of a changing India.

In following this man's life we are therefore doing two things. As in all study of biography we are to discover, if we can, the inner secret of a human life, the things whereby his soul lives. This is, after all, the greatest study in the world, and it is worth doing for its own sake. But we are also to try to see this life against the background of the

great events in the midst of which it was spent. For this is not one of those lives which flit silently across a prepared stage. Duff *made* the environment, in large measure, in which he lived. His was a creative personality, and out of the contact of that vivid spirit with the India of his day have come a great educational movement, and still more, a great Christian movement, which, so far as their origins are concerned, can best be studied in the life of this man.

## CHAPTER II

### BOYHOOD

### 1806–1823

ALEXANDER DUFF was born in the little parish of Moulin, in Perthshire, on April 25th, 1806. The place lies at the very centre of Scotland, and enjoys a beauty of scenery and wealth of historical memory which could not but leave their impress on one who to his dying day was enthusiastically a Scot and a Highlander. Two miles to the north is Ben-i-vrackie, from which far away can be seen Arthur's Seat, above Edinburgh, and to the north the great mountains Ben Nevis and Ben Macdhui. Not far distant the Pass of Killiecrankie calls up memories of Scottish history, and of "bloody Claverhouse" and the Covenanters he hunted down, into whose spiritual heritage the young Duff so eagerly stepped. This early memory of mountain, glen and river never faded from Duff's mind, and again and again in the imaginative flights of his speeches we find the impress of this Highland loveliness and grandeur and perceive the love he had for his fatherland.

Of his father, James Duff, and his mother, who was Jean Rattray, we do not know much beyond what their son, who believed himself to owe everything to them, tells us about his parents. They were people of passionate religious faith, of the rugged Calvinist type, tinged both with the fire and

with the sadness of the Celtic nature. The father, says his son, "was wont to labour much for the spiritual improvement of his neighbourhood, by the keeping or superintending of Sabbath Schools, and the holding of weekly meetings at his own house or elsewhere, for prayer and scriptural exposition. . . . In prayer he was indeed mighty—appearing at times as if in a rapture. . . . In appealing to the conscience, and in expatiating on the dying love of the Saviour, he displayed a power before which many have been melted and subdued, and being equally fluent in the Gaelic and the English languages, he could readily adapt himself to the requirements of such mixed audiences as the Highlands usually furnish."[1] His mind was steeped in the Bible expositions of the old divines, and he familiarized his children with them. Although Duff left home to go to school at the age of eight and was only intermittently under his father's roof ever afterwards, there is no doubt that his father's piety and personal religious forcefulness left a profound impression on his nature.

Indirectly, but not on that account less truly, Alexander Duff entered as a child into the heritage of the great evangelical revival associated with the name of Charles Simeon. For the boy's father, so mighty in prayer and exposition, so strenuous in service, looked back to his first awakening to the realities of God under the ministry of a man deeply influenced by Simeon—Dr Stewart of Moulin, afterwards of Dingwall and Canongate. Alexander's mother too could recall how, as girl and boy of seventeen, she and young James Duff, her future

[1] George Smith, *Alexander Duff*, Vol. I. p. 7.

husband, had sat one Sabbath in the little kirk of Moulin under a strange preacher from England, a soldierly man, very fervent in his speech in spite of his look of tiredness, and wonderfully hard to understand on account of the outlandishness of his tongue. But Dr Stewart, a listener that Sabbath instead of preacher, had understood the queer accent and the queer words, and that day's sermon had somehow set him, a quiet country minister, on fire with a new and passionate conviction of God and sin and salvation, which would not let him rest until James and Jean and the other members of his flock saw what he now saw, as Simeon had showed him, of God and His love for men. Many years after, Duff, by now an experienced missionary, met Simeon at Cambridge, and reminded him of his visit to Moulin in 1796 and of the "barren and dry sermon" (so Simeon himself had dismissed it at the time) which had had so powerful an effect on the kirk of Moulin and, through his parents, on the missionary himself.

At the age of eight Duff was sent to a school between Dunkeld and Perth, the local "dominie" being a somewhat incompetent man, and at eleven he went to a school at Kirkmichael, where under able tuition he made rapid progress. It appears that already the boy's religious consciousness was thoroughly awakened. Naturally of a musing, thoughtful disposition, the evangelical surroundings in which he grew up fostered in him an almost precocious spiritual development. His Celtic nature responded powerfully to the Gaelic poems, popular in his time, dealing with such topics as the Judgment Day, and it is said that after a dream in which he saw the doom of eternal joy or eternal anguish

pronounced upon the whole human race, and awaited his own fate, consumed with terror, he awoke shivering violently, prayed earnestly for forgiveness, and experienced "what he long afterwards described as something like the assurance of acceptance through the atoning blood of Jesus Christ." [1]

At another time he had a vivid dream in which, in a chariot of great glory, God Himself drew near to him where he lay musing on the hill-side, and calling to him said, "Come up hither; I have work for thee to do." The details of this experience he remembered to the very close of his life. Another incident to which in later years his mind often turned took place just before he went to the Grammar School at Perth in 1820. He was returning with a companion from Kirkmichael to Moulin through the heather, covered then with snow. "The sun set as they got out of the glen, no stars came out, all landmarks were obliterated, and they knew only that they had to pass between deep morasses and a considerable tarn. To return was as impossible as it was dangerous to advance, for already they felt the ice of the moss-covered pools and then of the lake cracking under their feet in the thick darkness. Still going forward, they came to what they took to be a precipice hidden by the snow-drift down which they slid. Then they heard the purling of the burn, which, they well knew, would bring them down the valley of Athole if they had only light to follow it. The night went on, and the words with which they tried to cheer themselves and each other grew fainter, when exhaustion compelled them to sit down. Then they cried to God for deliverance.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

With their heads resting on a snow-wreath they were vainly trying to keep their eyes open, when a bright light flashed upon them and then disappeared. Roused as if by an electric shock, they ran forward, and tumbled against a garden wall. The light, which proved to be the flare of a torch used by salmon poachers in the Tummel (a local stream), was too distant to guide them to safety, but it had been the means of leading them to a cottage three miles from their home. . . . Often in after years, when Duff was in peril or difficulty, did the memory of that sudden flash call forth new thankfulness and cheerful hope." [1]

To some critics these incidents will suggest an unhealthy religiosity, especially in the case of a boy of fourteen. It would be a false judgment. Duff had probably no sense of humour, but he had, not only in maturity but in youth, a large fund of hard commonsense, and his Celtic temperament and keen religious nature never led him either to speech or action which was morbid or unhealthy.

At the age of fourteen Duff went to Perth Grammar School, and it was here that he first made the acquaintance and soon became the close friend of a boy, John Urquhart, two years younger than himself, who was to become one of the deepest and most fruitful influences in Duff's own life and career. The friendship between the two, a natural, healthy companionship begun in the summer of 1821, has been described by Duff in a contribution which he made to the *Memoir of John Urquhart*, and, reading between the long words and the stilted sentences, it is easy to picture the two preparing their lessons

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 16.

together, the younger boy quicker than the elder at unravelling the meaning of some knotty passage in Virgil or Cicero, and sometimes astounding the whole class and even the master by the "ingenuity of his conjectures." On many mornings of that summer together, Duff would wake up to find that Urquhart was already abroad, having gone off between three and four o'clock with the Æneid or his own thoughts for company for a long walk over "that beautiful extensive green, the North Inch of Perth." The two would talk together for hours—ordinary boyish talk it must have been, about people and things, the casual happenings of school-life and what might happen in the days beyond school, for Duff himself tells us, almost to our relief, that "in our daily and long-continued conversations religious topics did not form a considerable, or rather, any part of them." [1]

At the end of the summer term Duff left Perth, as head of the school, though still only fifteen, to browse at home on the *Rambler* and *Paradise Lost* through the vacation, and to go up to the University in the autumn. Urquhart left too, but being only thirteen was considered too young for the University and was sent to while away a year at Perth Academy, a "respectable seminary," where he went on with his studies in mathematics and natural philosophy, and cultivated his sense of exquisite neatness in the arrangement of his little library and the construction of prize maps.

The University which claimed Alexander Duff was St Andrews, the smallest of the four Scottish Universities and the most ancient. It has always

[1] William Orme, *Memoir of John Urquhart*, p. 37.

had an honourable tradition of excellence in humane studies, and at that time it compared favourably with any other university in Scotland in this respect. But beyond the excellence of its classical and philosophical teaching, St Andrews had very little to offer to the boy who, in November 1821, arrived at its gates with £20 and a great store of energy, enthusiasm and ability. After the keen religious atmosphere of his home, and the breezy life of his school at Perth, St Andrews, for all the east winds sweeping its grey streets, must have seemed to Duff a very enervating, spiritually desolate spot. Writing long afterwards of the University as he first knew it, Duff describes it as a veritable backwater of life, cut off even from the most ordinary of external influences. "No steamer ever entered its deserted harbour, with its influx of strangers carrying along with them new tasks, new habits and new thoughts. No mail-coach or even common stage-coach ever disturbed the silence of the grass-grown streets. Its magistracy was virtually self-elected, enjoying in perpetuity a quiet monopoly of power."[1] The members of the governing body of the University — the Senatus Academicus — were one and all "Moderates," some of them (adds Duff) "intensely so." Not one belonged to the Evangelical party— the party to whom religion was a very real and ruthless thing, a divine possession of man's spirit, demanding of him personally whole and unconditional surrender and of his Church complete and direct allegiance.

Decorous orthodoxy in high places existed, not unnaturally, side by side with a general boredom

[1] Smith, Vol. I. p. 19.

concerning religious matters among the students. They were required to attend the College church, St Leonard's, every Sunday, and speaking broadly the religious life of the undergraduate body seems to have begun and ended in the fulfilment of this formality. Looking back, long afterwards, on his early college days, Duff makes a good round accusation of godlessness against the students. Only one of the philosophy students, he says, was reputed to be pious and he "was the butt and joke of everyone, under the familiar nickname of 'the Bishop,'" while some of the divinity students "were even more notorious for their impiety, immorality and riotous revellings than any at the Philosophy College."[1] He even denounces the University, as he first knew it, as a "mass of moral putrescence" —a phrase which we are at liberty to take with a grain of salt, remembering Duff's later aptitude for righteous indignation expressed in heavy-footed words. At all events it is clear that the religious and moral atmosphere of St Andrews was very far from bracing—a great contrast to the strenuous piety of the home from which Duff came.

The ordinary college course at a Scottish University of the period extended over four years, but owing to the youthfulness of the students two years of this were occupied in work which corresponded much more nearly to the sixth-form work of a modern public school than to present-day university studies. Duff must have felt himself very much at ease, intellectually, among the other students of his year, of whom it was indeed expected that they should know the rudiments of Latin, but who might

[1] Hanna, *Memoirs of Dr Chalmers*, Vol. III. p. 196.

be and generally were "altogether ignorant of the Greek tongue," so that the Professor of Greek "had to begin his pupils at the alphabet." [1] Duff came out brilliantly as a student during his first two years in college, winning a bursary for the excellence of his Latin, carrying off high honours in Greek, Logic and Natural Philosophy, and winning such esteem for his Latin translation of Plato's *Apology* that only half-way through his course he was granted the degree of Master of Arts.[2]

Social life at the Scottish Universities of those days was a very simple affair. In order to make a University education available for poor students the rules of residence were of the loosest possible character. If necessary the student might cut down his attendance at lectures to the barest minimum and win his way to the coveted degree by hours of study stolen from sleep after the day's teaching in some country parish school, or the day's ploughing in the fields round his home. Dr Guthrie, who as a boy of twelve went up as a student to Edinburgh a few years before Duff went to St Andrews, has left us a vivid description of student life of the time. Lodgings in the town were cheap—in his case only five to six shillings a week for a single room (which served as bedroom, parlour and study), coals, attendance and cooking, and "with the exception of a few 'swells,'" says Guthrie, "few students had ampler accommodation than ours." Though Duff's parents were comfortably off he certainly could not be ranked with the "swells," and we may think of him, sharing rooms

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 180. [2] Smith, Vol. I. p. 18.

during his first year with his friend Forbes "over what is now Lavercock's shop in South Street," and thriving on a diet of hard work and of "tea once, oatmeal porridge twice a day, and for dinner fresh herring and potatoes." Perhaps, like Guthrie at Edinburgh, they had an occasional burst of extravagance over their suppers, to be made up for next day by "dinners of potatoes and ox-livers, which we reckoned cost us only three-halfpence a head"! In any case they were better off than one poor fellow, known to Guthrie at Edinburgh, who for three whole months lived on oatmeal, with a little butter and salt, brought in a chest from home and made into "brose" with the help of hot water supplied by the landlady, to whom he was too proud to confess his secret; or than that other lad who "restricted himself for a whole year to two shillings and sixpence a week, went hungry to classes and hungry to bed, but fought his way through to become a Doctor of Medicine." [1]

We hear nothing of organized games or athletics, and for all our desire to think of Duff trying his luck on the links of St Andrews, we have no warrant for believing that he ever exulted over Forbes in a bunker! In passing it is some consolation to note that the hero of Duff's later years at college, Dr Chalmers, used at one time to play golf regularly with another professor, Mr Duncan, the two being attended by caddies in uniform and "extracting infinite amusement from the free and easy criticisms" of these mentors upon the professorial performances.[2] Afterwards, however, Dr Chalmers

[1] *Autobiography of Thomas Guthrie*, Vol. I. p. 46 *et seq.*
[2] Hanna, *Memoirs of Dr Chalmers*, Vol. III. p. 223.

gave up this gentle form of exercise, "imagining that it weakened his capacity for study." [1]

Nor do we hear of any organized social life in college, beyond the debates in which Duff practised the eloquence which afterwards made him so voluminous and compelling a speaker. "Fun and fighting" were not for him, the strictly brought up son of a pious home. Religion was as yet a steadying asset in his life rather than the dominating passion which it afterwards became. He speaks of his own daily prayer and Bible-reading as faithfully observed, but religion was not yet "the great object," and, as he later laments, "I fear there was much coldness and much formality in almost every exercise." [2] Time must have passed away smoothly, marked only by the achievement of intellectual ambitions and by the long spells of country life in the summer vacations. At the beginning of Duff's second year at college—in November 1822—he was joined by his friend Urquhart from Perth, and that year the two lived together, sharing presumably the uneventful days which Urquhart described in a letter to his mother in December 1822:

> Every hour is employed much in the same manner every day. My meals are also strictly measured in the same quantity. I rise every day at 7 o'clock (with candle-light of course), go to the Greek class at eight and remain there till nine; take my breakfast and go to the library between nine and ten; go to the mathematics from ten to eleven; the Greek again from eleven to twelve; take a walk between twelve and one; go to Latin between one and two; dine between two and

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 223.

[2] Orme, *Memoir of John Urquhart*, p. 51.

three; take a walk between four and five; and am in the house the rest of the night.[1]

It all sounds very staid, not a little dull, almost pitiable, when one remembers the age of the two friends, as though they had been cheated of the gay inheritance of youth—Duff only sixteen, Urquhart only fourteen. Perhaps the very quietness of the life, the enforced concentration of interest first on study, later on religion, served as a better preparation for the years of intense strain, of multitudinous cares and interests and responsibilities, of exacting demands on body and brain to which Duff was unconsciously approaching, than a more varied and distracting college life would have done. Be that as it may, the quiet existence produced no old-maidishness either in him or in Urquhart. Duff was a real man in his student days, described by a friend as "full of vigour and freshness, stalwart in frame, buoyant of spirit, full of energy and enthusiasm, impulsive but not rash."[2] We get a glimpse of him, passing the windows of Professor Ferrie's house in St Andrews on his way to some students' meeting, "with a good thick stick in his hand, as though he expected that there might be a row"; while in his final year at college he impressed an "outrageously thoughtless" freshman by the "weight and downright earnestness . . . which everybody felt."[3]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 48. [2] Smith, Vol. I. p. 22. [3] *Ibid.*, p.23.

## CHAPTER III

### ST ANDREWS UNDER CHALMERS: THE MISSIONARY MOVEMENT

### 1823–1829

In the spring of 1823 the University and town of St Andrews were set humming with conversation by a startling announcement. The Senatus Academicus had elected Dr Thomas Chalmers to the vacant chair of Moral Philosophy. The ring of "Moderates" had invited one of the most prominent "Evangelicals" in Scotland to join them. Though not yet the national leader that he afterwards became, Dr Chalmers was already well-known as a magnificent exponent of the power of the Gospel and of the universal nature of its applications. He was in charge, at the time, of a church in a poor district in Glasgow and had already made a deep impression on the life of the city. The invitation to St Andrews was a call to a totally different type of work. Chalmers accepted it.

St Andrews was delighted. Many of the residents, Dr Smith tells us, remembered Chalmers as a boy, a student and afterwards a lecturer, in town and University, and "to receive him back again amongst them, in the full blaze of an unparalleled popularity, they felt to be like the shedding of some undefinable radiance on themselves." [1] The tradespeople calcu-

[1] Smith, Vol. I. pp. 20, 21

lated the effect on their scanty incomes of the coming of this celebrity, who would certainly attract more students and strangers to St Andrews and might indeed be worth thousands of pounds to them annually! The students, tired of the level tones which flowed on so monotonously in lecture and class-rooms, were "with all the honest fervour of youth, enraptured at the thought of having for a professor a man of genius, and the greatest pulpit orator of the age."[1] A certain book in the College library containing a portrait and description of Dr Chalmers was in huge demand. His face and character were fitted together and discussed—"his pale countenance and drooping eyelids; his mathematical breadth of forehead with its 'arch of imagination' surmounted by a grand apex of high and solemn veneration and love."[2] The students gloated over the thrills that would run down their backs as the new professor lectured and exhorted them. The beginning of the autumn session was impatiently awaited.

Duff and Urquhart were almost certainly among the crowd of students who, with a sprinkling of professors and outside spectators, assembled to hear Chalmers give his introductory lecture in St Andrews on Friday, November 14th, 1823. Chalmers had come up to the University after a busy summer, almost wholly unfurnished with written lectures. Throughout the winter he was hard at work trying to produce his written compositions a day or two in advance of their delivery. The race against time exhilarated him: "I have the prospect of winning

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 20. [2] *Ibid.*

the course, though it will be by no more than the length of half a neck." [1] The effect on his hearers was most stimulating. Instead of the accustomed dry-as-dust utterances that the aged lecturers read from yellowing pages, here was live, creative thought, the actual contemporary labours of a great mind which invited the co-operation of others. "An indescribable impulse was excited and sustained among the students. There was not a latent spark of intellectual enthusiasm in any breast that was not kindled into a glowing flame. It was impossible not to follow where such a leader led the way, and with many, as with himself, the pursuit became a passion." [2] The Moral Philosophy class became a joint venture in the search for truth. Not the least remarkable thing about the new professor was his absolute honesty in intellectual matters. Although on at least one occasion during his first session he made his students laugh by addressing them as "my brethren" instead of "gentlemen," he never sank the professor in the popular preacher. His reverence for truth and his intense belief in its "whiteness" made the shoddy and superficial methods of the propagandist seem, not merely unworthy, but utterly unnecessary and irrelevant in his eyes. It is impossible not to see in Duff's later life and work the influences of Chalmers' vision of truth—philosophical, scientific, and revealed—as one great whole, its parts fundamentally and essentially inseparable.

The hour allotted in the University curriculum to Moral Philosophy became the most interesting event

[1] Hanna, *Memoirs of Dr Chalmers*, Vol. III. p. 5.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

of each day. The session 1824–5 especially stands out as the most brilliant epoch in Chalmers' career at St Andrews. His classroom was crowded out. "More than double the number of students that had ever in the days of his most famous predecessors attended the Moral Philosophy class stood enrolled." [1] About one half of them came from other Scottish Universities or from England and Ireland. St Andrews from being a mere backwater became a centre of intellectual activity. Advanced students returned on their earlier studies in order to join Chalmers' class, and older amateur students from outside helped to diversify and raise still higher the intellectual tone of the class. From November to March they hammered away together at the problems of purely human ethics, "the moralities which reciprocate between man and man on earth." About March they passed over to the discussion of natural theology, since it was impossible to consider "the moralities which connect heaven with earth" without preliminary enquiries concerning "the nature and character of a God." [2] There was no continuous note-taking among the students. Chalmers' own informality and enthusiasm made that impossible. Applause and laughter could never be restrained for long. They broke out again and again during the course of lectures, in spite of Chalmers' efforts to restrain the former. At first a little mild ragging still further enlivened the proceedings, as when a dog was brought in to add his applause to that of the rest, much to Chalmers' indignation! Chalmers began each lecture with a

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 53. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 55.

short, impressive prayer—usually only a few sentences. He ended it with an informal viva voce examination, in which all the students joined, and the excitement grew as each reply, eagerly put forward, approximated nearer and nearer to the answer for which Chalmers was waiting. At the end of his first session Chalmers announced his intention of starting a separate class on political economy during the following winter. In November 1826 he duly enrolled a large class in this subject, and, taking Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* as a basis of examination and criticism, he very quickly established a new intellectual interest in the University life. We know that Duff at any rate found his knowledge of economic questions, gained at this time, of service to him during his later life in India.

Chalmers' influence on St Andrews effected much more than an intellectual renaissance among the students. His personality, dominated as it was by a most vivid sense of God and of the reality of the spiritual world, effected something of a religious revival in the town and University. Duff's description of the religious torpor of St Andrews before the coming of Chalmers has already been quoted. Chalmers himself had bitter experience of the "withering influences" during the first few months of his professorship. "Perhaps," he writes sorrowfully in February 1824, "there is no town in Scotland more cold and meagre and moderate in its theology than St Andrews." [1] As late as August 1825 we find the entry in his diary against a Sunday, "Heavy and heartless all day! Feel more than ever the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

uncongeniality of St Andrews."[1] But his spirit was too strong to be seriously discouraged by lack of sympathy. He began quietly to put into practice some of the implications of his religion which to him seemed obvious and ordinary enough, though to others they must at first have seemed a strange breach of dignity.

During the session 1824–5 it was first rumoured in the University that Dr Chalmers was holding a small Sabbath school, composed of a few very poor children from the town, in his own house on Sabbath evenings. It was even said that the professor prepared as careful notes of his lessons to this ragged little group as for his lectures during the week. He was beginning also to invite a few students to his house, also on Sabbath evenings, for informal conversations about personal religion and like matters. His familiar contacts with the students were growing rapidly. He used to drop in casually on men in their lodgings after lecture hours and take them for walks. The Sabbath evening discussions from the first created a very strong bond between Chalmers and the little group invited to them. By the following year both the children's school and the students' discussion group had grown to such large dimensions that Chalmers could no longer cope with both of them. Accordingly he handed over his children to the care of a student who was by now a familiar friend—John Urquhart.

Gradually, under Chalmers' example, the desire to do something for the children of St Andrews took hold of the undergraduate body. Sabbath schools sprang up in various parts of the town, taught by

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 95.

students under the direction of the parish ministers. Not only Urquhart, but his friend Duff and several others too were attracted to this form of service. Something of the professor's practical love and devotion, as well as his " big thoughts and the form of his phraseology " were beginning to have their effect on Duff's mind and character at this time. Since his boyhood he had said his prayers and read his Bible as a matter of duty. Now that he had definite religious work to do formalism had to give place to something more real and vital. We can think of Duff and Urquhart going together to the meetings for prayer and counsel at which the students prepared on Sabbath mornings for their teaching in the afternoon. " Even the professors became interested in the new movement, and a new sight in St Andrews was that of the Principal of a college and the Professor of Oriental Languages stumbling up a dark close on a Sabbath evening to countenance young students with their new Sabbath classes." [1] It was Duff's first experience of missionary work.

Chalmers, with a breadth of vision unusual in the Church of his day, looked still farther afield. Very soon after his arrival at St Andrews he accepted the presidency of the St Andrews Missionary Society, an interdenominational body for the study and support of foreign missions, which until Chalmers' coming had been in a far from flourishing condition. Under him it became a live and active society. Encouraged by Chalmers' sympathy, a few divinity students [2] formed themselves during his first session

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 190.

[2] *i.e.*, men who having completed the four years' course for an Arts degree had entered upon the four years at St Mary's College, the

into an association for reviewing and supporting missions. They met in a private room and their proceedings were known only by casual report to the other students. They nevertheless became a subject of discussion among a small group of philosophy students of whom Duff was one and of whom Urquhart, in spite of his youth, was the acknowledged leader.

One evening in the autumn of 1824 a few friends, including Duff, met in Urquhart's room.[1] The talk began on general lines, led by Urquhart. They discussed the "blindness of the understanding and the hardness of the heart," "the influences of the Spirit," and from there went on to the subject of "missions to the heathen." At last the question suggested itself, Why not form a missionary society among the students of the Philosophy College? Everyone agreed that it was desirable, but by some, "whose minds were still haunted by frightful visions of past apathy and scorn, such an attempt was regarded as chimerical. The students would only scoff at it, and the professors frown upon it."[2] Dr Chalmers at least could be counted on to support it; at all events it was worth while to make the effort: so the bolder spirits reasoned. Finally paper was produced—"the scheme of a society drafted and the name of those present attached. In a few days fifty or sixty more signatures were obtained; an Association was publicly and formally constituted. A union was next effected between it

theological school in St Andrews for the Church of Scotland. Duff was not yet a divinity student. He became one in November 1825.

[1] Orme, *Memoir of John Urquhart*, p. 72 *et seq.*

[2] Hanna, *Memoirs of Dr Chalmers*, Vol. III. p. 197 *et seq.*

and the small association of divinity students which met in the preceding year; and thus originated the St Andrews University Missionary Society, which ranked among its active friends and supporters more than one-third of all attending both the colleges." [1]

In spite of opposition from those in authority—which vented itself in the refusal to grant the use of a college lecture-room for its meetings—the Society grew and prospered. Its main object was, by the study of foreign missions, to remove prejudices and awaken intelligent and active interest in missionary work. A small library of missionary books was collected and Duff became its first librarian. Monthly meetings for the reading of papers and discussion of missionary subjects were held. Gradually, as the professors discovered that the supporters of the Society did not, as they feared would be the case, become slack and careless students, but instead carried off honours in every department of study, official opposition was withdrawn. During the second session of the Society's life (*i.e.* 1825–6) some missionary literature sent by it to the Principal of the Philosophy College was returned by him, duly read, with a gracious letter and a guinea subscription to the Society's funds, while the Principal of the Divinity College placed the Divinity Hall at their disposal for meetings. The Society had vindicated itself by showing that its members, for all their interest in foreign missions, had not become weak-headed cranks but developed as good scholars!

The object and methods of working adopted by the St Andrews University Missionary Society fore-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 197 *et seq.*

shadowed very closely the beginnings of the Student Volunteer Missionary Union, which towards the end of the century spread through the various Universities and Colleges of the British Isles and now functions as a special department—for the recruiting of students for missionary service—of the Student Christian Movement. It is in this connection interesting to notice that during the session 1825–6 (the second session of the St Andrews Society's existence) similar societies were formed in the other three Scottish Universities "and a kind of simultaneous movement was made . . . towards a system of general correspondence." [1] The Glasgow Society got into touch with a Missionary Association in one of the colleges in America, and in June 1826 we find Urquhart writing to a friend urging him to open a channel of correspondence between some of the Cambridge colleges and the Scottish Universities. For, he says, "it were very desirable (and I think not impracticable) to see all the pious young men in our great seminaries of learning united to each other by this bond of Christian philanthropy." [2]

Meanwhile Dr Chalmers helped to keep the new Society in touch with the realities of missionary service by keeping open house for all those students who cared to come and make the acquaintance of his own guests from abroad—Dr Marshman, Carey's colleague, full of the opening of Serampore College near Calcutta; Dr Morrison of China, who told "of his triumphs in Bible translating and dictionary making" and gave "some account of the ten thousand Chinese books which he had brought

[1] Orme, *Memoir of John Urquhart*, 1869, p. 174.
[2] *Ibid.*

home"; [1] while another lively guest at Dr Chalmers' breakfast table was Dr Yates, "the Sanscrit and Bengalee pundit, alternating between attacks on Church establishments and expositions of Brahmanical subtleties." [1] We can think of Duff and Urquhart, with perhaps Adam and Nesbit, very young and boyish still (Duff was only nineteen and Urquhart seventeen when the session 1825–6 began), listening respectfully to Dr Chalmers' guests while they ate his porridge, and after breakfast strolling away together, talking it all over, till a clock striking suddenly brought them back from Calcutta to St Andrews and to the fact that they were late for their lectures.

Early in the spring of 1826 Urquhart, who had long been meditating the step, made his first decision to offer himself for missionary service in China under the London Missionary Society. During the winter, besides his labours in Sabbath-school teaching and in the students' Missionary Society, he had been studying Chinese under Dr Morrison's direction and encouragement. His last address to the Missionary Society, given in the spring of 1826, on "The Duty of Personal Engagement in the Work of Missions" is an extraordinarily mature production for a boy of barely eighteen—clear-headed and sane in its appreciation of the objections to and arguments for missionary work, and at the same time inspired from beginning to end by a most vivid and devout sense of gratitude to God and of loyalty to His service. Part of it is worth quoting for the light it throws not only on Urquhart's own character and ideals, but on the outlook of the little

[1] Smith, Vol. I. p. 26.

group of students who formed the heart of the Society.

I do fear that there is too much of the tone of this world's flattering adulation in the public language of our missionary assemblies. I believe it to be true that the members of missionary associations have absolutely done nothing when we consider the high demands of a cause which is the spiritual and moral renovation of a world. One cannot help wondering that of the many who have pleaded so earnestly for the cause of missions, and have declaimed so eloquently concerning the high dignity of the missionary enterprise, so few have been found who were willing to go forth to the combat. It seems to me that while the enemies of missions have altogether despised and vilified the missionary office, the advocates of missions have erred in the other extreme, by regarding it with somewhat of a sentimental admiration, and by regarding it rather as a work of supererogation than of duty. After all, the greater part of the work must be accomplished by ordinary men. And I am persuaded, that if we but take a candid and sober view of the case, we shall begin to suspect that the matter may come home in the shape of duty, even to ourselves. . . . To true patriotism I am willing to allow all the eulogiums that poets and orators have heaped upon it. The love of country is a very noble affection. But there is a thing which has been misnamed patriotism, which consists not so much in loving our own country, as in despising and disregarding every other.

The matter some time ago presented itself very forcibly to my mind, and I felt that it at least demanded my serious consideration. As I have proceeded with my enquiries on the subject, the difficulties seem to have gathered thicker on the prospect, but the convictions of duty have grown stronger too. The arguments for personal engagement seem to me to have acquired the strength of a demonstration. I have therefore resolved with the help of God to devote my life to the cause; and I have only solemnly to charge every one of you who are looking forward to the ministry of Christ to take this matter into most serious consideration. Do

not think I wish to press you into this service. It is a maxim which much experience has taught the Moravians, never to persuade any man to become a missionary. I have laid the matter before you, and leave it with your own conscience, as you soon must answer before God.[1]

Characteristically, Duff took a long time to make up his mind on the pressing question, should he become a missionary. Interest in India particularly, he said at the end of his Indian career, began in his case with the reading of an article on India in the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*; but even in his childhood his father, who had an interest in missionary work rare in those days, used to speak to him of it and show him pictures of Indian life and religious rites. As a member of the students' Missionary Society he read all round the subject. He tried to rid himself of any romantic glamour which the work might have had for him, and compelled himself to face two things, the actual work and need in India, and the claim of the Gospel upon the individual Christian. He subjected his own motives to a rigorous, even ruthless scrutiny, purged himself so far as a man can of self-deceit and false ambition, looked squarely and steadily at the cost he must count, and came to that place where he could say, "Here am I, send me."

In 1827 Urquhart, whose strength had never been equal to the demands he made upon it, died, before reaching his nineteenth birthday. This seems to have been the determining factor in Duff's decision. Urquhart's name was always much in his talk and letters, but when he returned home in the spring of 1827, in all his news about College affairs and friend-

[1] Orme, *Memoir of John Urquhart*, pp. 312-15 *passim*.

ships Urquhart's name did not appear. In answer to his parents' question he told them that Urquhart had passed away, and then added, "What if your son should take up his cloak? You approved the motive that directed the choice of Urquhart, you commended his high purpose—The cloak is taken up."[1] His parents accepted the decision. They had counted on his being a minister at home, perhaps near themselves, and they had all the old Scottish pride in having a son, and a distinguished son, in the ministry. Nevertheless, they were able to recognize in their son's decision the will of God.

Duff, however, had made no more than a general decision. He had still two more years to spend at St Mary's, and he did not bind himself yet in any undertaking to the Church. Meanwhile events were moving apace in the Church itself. We have noticed already that no missionary had ever yet gone from the Scottish Church. In common with almost all Reformed Christendom, the missionary passion had lain dormant in it. While in the Roman Church the missions started during the counter-Reformation of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were providing the world with some of the most magnificent records of endurance, courage and faith that Christianity has ever shown, Reformed Christendom was consolidating itself in Western Europe and articulating its faith in contrast to and in defence against the Roman position. Even at the close of the eighteenth century a minister was elected Moderator of the General Assembly of the Scottish Church who had succeeded in getting passed the following precious resolution: "To spread abroad

[1] Smith, Vol. I. p. 44.

the knowledge of the Gospel among barbarous and heathen nations seems to be highly preposterous in so far as it anticipates, nay, it even reverses the order of nature."

Yet, as Duff's chief biographer has put it, "alone of all the Reformed Churches the Kirk of Scotland had placed in the very front of its Confession the fact that it was a missionary church. . . . 'And this glaid tydingis of the kyngdome sall be precheit through the haill warld for a witnes unto all natiouns, and then sall the end cum.'" With the growth of British colonial expansion the Christian conscience began to awaken, and the foundation of most of the leading missionary societies in the period of the Napoleonic wars shows that when it was awakened it was able to move men to action in face of overwhelming national difficulties and perils. So far as India and Scotland are concerned, the first sign of movement may be taken to be the East India Company's 1813 charter, which established one bishop, three archdeacons, several Episcopalian and three Presbyterian chaplains in India.

The first Scottish chaplain, Mr James Bryce, was shortly afterwards sent out to Calcutta to minister to his countrymen there, to build the first Scottish church in India and to find himself gradually converted to a belief in the need and possibility of definite missionary work, to be undertaken not only for the Scots but also for the Indians of Calcutta.

Most prominent, however, among the promoters of the first Church of Scotland Mission in India was Dr John Inglis, a well-known Edinburgh minister, a leader of the Moderate party in the General Assembly, but a most clear and deep-sighted states-

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man of the Church, whose vision extended far beyond the needs of his own country. A sermon preached by him in 1818—before the Scottish Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge—became famous as the first public proposal of a great programme of educational missionary work, which closely foreshadowed the work eventually undertaken by Duff in Calcutta. The first page of the minute book of the Foreign Missions Committee of the Church of Scotland still bears witness to this sermon as containing the first germ of the scheme which ultimately produced the India Mission, "an undertaking of which (the secretary adds) I trust that no ungenerous attempt will ever be made to deny that *he alone* was the Author." Again in 1824, during the discussion in the General Assembly as to the desirability (urged on the Assembly both by James Bryce for Calcutta and by several of the home presbyteries) of starting missionary work in India, we find Dr Inglis the foremost champion of a mission to be established on educational lines, since "little could be expected from mere preaching to an uneducated and barbarous [sic] people." [1] Finally a committee was appointed to produce a specific scheme to be submitted to the next Assembly. Dr Inglis was appointed convener and Dr Chalmers a member of this first missionary committee of the Scottish Church. The report was duly made to and adopted by the Assembly of 1825. India was the field recommended by the committee. The Church now stood committed both to this and to the resolution that

> It would be desirable to establish, in the first instance, one central seminary of education, with branch schools

[1] R. W. Weir, *Foreign Missions of the Church of Scotland*, p. 33.

in the surrounding country, for the behoof of children of the Indian population, under one who ought to be an ordained minister of the national church, and not less than two assistant teachers from this country, together with a certain number of additional teachers, to be selected by the headmaster from those Indians who have previously received the requisite training.

Then followed a letter, written by Dr Inglis, to the people of Scotland lamenting past neglect, pointing to the recent success of other Christian communities and calling on the Scottish people to do their duty.

For some time the search for workers was totally unsuccessful. In the winter session of 1827–28 Dr Haldane, the Principal of St Mary's, laid before Duff a letter of appeal from Inglis. Duff declined to be definitely committed until nearer the end of his studies, but a year later came to grips with the Committee's proposal. The process of decision is admirably exhibited in a letter from Duff to his friend and counsellor, Dr Chalmers.

. . . About three weeks ago I was sent for by Dr Ferrie, who stated that he had received a letter from a cousin of his, asking his advice as to the propriety of going out to superintend the Assembly's scheme for propagating the Gospel in India, and that he dissuaded him from going, for, although he was satisfied as to his piety and zeal, yet he knew he wanted several other qualifications that were indispensably necessary. Immediately, he said, I occurred to him as a person well fitted for such a sacred and important station, and accordingly he made the proposal to me of going to India to take charge of the new establishment. A proposal so weighty was neither to be precipitately rejected, nor inconsiderately acceded to. I therefore assured him I would solemnly deliberate on the measure, and would wait for more definite information regarding

its precise nature, and in the meantime would make it the subject of prayer. On the subject of missions in general I have read much and thought much, and in regard both to the sacredness of the cause and the propriety of personal engagement, my mind has long been entirely satisfied; nay more, on often revolving the matter, a kind of ominous foreboding mingled so constantly with my thoughts, that it became an almost settled impression that the day was not far distant when I would feel it to be my duty to adopt the decisive step of devoting my life to the sacred cause. In these circumstances and with these feelings, nought remained in the present instance but to enquire . . . "whether do I consciously feel myself possessed of the qualifications necessary to constitute the true missionary character," and "whether can I accept the offered appointment, unactuated by any but the proper motives, a desire to promote God's glory and the welfare of immortal souls." . . . The result was that . . . I felt I could find it in my heart to devote myself to the service of the Lord, undivided by any worldly tie and uninfluenced by any mercenary motive.

. . . The other enquiry, respecting the requisite qualifications, was by no means concluded so much to my own satisfaction. But on further reflection on the subject, the exceeding precious promises of God appeared to rebuke my distrustful vacillating spirit; and I seemed to have the faith . . . to conclude that, if I engaged in the work with full sincerity of soul, by faith accompanied with prayer, God's grace might be sufficient for me, and *His* strength might be made perfect in my weakness. In this frame of mind, therefore, I resolved, if offered the appointment, to accept of it.

The letter goes on to recount the formal offer from Dr Inglis, his anxiety about Duff's acceptance, and the final decision.

I am now prepared to reply to the Committee in the words of the Prophet, "Here am I, send me." The work is most arduous, but is of God, and must prosper; many sacrifices painful to "flesh and blood" must be

made, but not any correspondent to the glory of winning souls for Christ. With the thought of this glory I feel myself almost transported with joy, everything else appears to fall out of view as vain and insignificant. The kings and great men of the earth have reared the sculptured monument and the lofty pyramid with the vain hope of transmitting their names with reverence to succeeding generations; and yet the sculptured monument and the lofty pyramid do crumble unto decay, and must finally be burnt up in the general wreck of dissolving nature; but he who has been the means of subduing one soul to the Cross of Christ, hath reared a far more enduring monument—a monument that will outlast all time, and survive the widespread ruins of ten thousand worlds; a trophy which is destined to bloom and flourish in immortal youth in the land of immortality.[1]

This is an important letter. Incidentally it is the first example given here of the habit Duff acquired—we shall come across many more examples—of both writing and speaking at inordinate length, and in an opulent style of speech which would appear almost bombastic were it not for the passages of genuine eloquence which frequently occur. Mainly, however, this letter exhibits the intense seriousness, humility and prayerfulness with which this very gifted man made the decision of his life, and the fundamentally religious conception of the work he set before himself. It is important to apprehend this evangelistic passion in the heart of Duff if we are to estimate rightly the greatness of the educational scheme he later developed.

The Assembly of 1829 appointed Alexander Duff their first missionary. He had said good-bye to St Andrews, after eight years there, that spring.

[1] Smith, Vol. I. p. 46 *et seq.*

His ordination took place in St George's, Edinburgh, on August 12th, Dr Chalmers presiding. Just before his ordination, on July 9th, he was married to Anne Scott Drysdale of Edinburgh, and for many years lived with her in an ideally happy union. On September 19th they left Leith for London to join the *Lady Holland* East Indiaman.

## CHAPTER IV

### INDIA—THE CHOICE OF A METHOD

### 1829–1830

THE voyage on which Alexander Duff and his wife set out was a very different one from that which confronts the traveller to India to-day, when the Suez Canal, comfortable, speedy and punctual liners, wireless telegraphy and other conveniences make the journey from London to Bombay a short and easy interlude in a busy life. They left England in October and did not reach Calcutta until the following May, after suffering two shipwrecks and losing nearly all their personal property.

The *Lady Holland*, after several attempts to start, left Ryde in the Isle of Wight on October 14th, 1829. Before braving the Channel, after a heavy gale, a derelict vessel was encountered swept from stem to stern by the waves; a sailor's omen which the event was to prove in this case at least true enough. Contrary winds kept the ship from making rapid progress, and it was not until November 7th that they reached Madeira, where the captain purposed to stay a week to take in a cargo of wine. Of the twenty-two passengers the only one of note, other than Duff, was H. M. Durand, a young engineer who became a close friend of Duff, and eventually rose in the service until he became Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. In Madeira

the Duffs found themselves hospitably treated by the ship's agent, and among the people then in the island became acquainted with Captain Marryat, who was in command of one of the frigates in the Bay. Their stay in Madeira, however, was to be longer than they expected, as a big gale blew most of the ships in the Bay out to sea, including all the frigates, and for three weeks they were compelled to wait until the vessels made their way back. Eventually on December 3rd the *Lady Holland* set sail for the Cape, accompanied by a frigate which was on the look-out for pirates. That the precaution was a real one was shown by the next experience which befell the passengers, of seeing the attendant frigate in full pursuit of a pirate a few hundred yards away from the *Lady Holland.*

The south-east trade wind took the ship close to Buenos Ayres, but early in February 1830 she drew near to the African coast, her captain intending to call at the Cape. On the 13th, in the endeavour to avoid a sandbank on which the captain had found, by soundings, that he was moving, the *Lady Holland* crashed upon some rocks and broke her back, so that the fore part of the ship stuck between the reefs. It was ten o'clock at night when, as was usual in those days, the lights had been put out and the passengers were mostly asleep in their berths. Duff, half-dressed, rushed on deck to find the captain in an agony of despair, for the condition of the ship was hopeless. The order was given for the masts to be cut away, and the long-boat to be got ready, in case it should be possible to leave the wreck. Meanwhile the passengers had all assembled in the officers' cabin, some calm and untroubled,

some in agonies of terror, some repenting of their past lives and crying aloud to God for pity. Duff himself records how all the little cliques and feuds that so easily grow up among passengers in a long voyage resolved themselves in this hour of fear, and after half an hour, when the first tempest of apprehensions had subsided, he was able to lead the passengers in prayer for the safety of the crew and themselves.[1]

Meanwhile a small gig had been sent out to discover any possible landing-place, for all round the *Lady Holland* was a mass of foaming water and it was not known whether she had struck on an island, or on the mainland, or on isolated rocks. After some time the boat returned with the news that a small sandy bay had been found, to which it should be possible to escape. The long-boat would only accommodate one-third of the entire ship's complement, but the wind had by this time abated, and eventually all were safely got ashore.

The land turned out to be an island, and for some time nothing could be found on it but penguins. Two Dutchmen were at length discovered, sent from Cape Town to collect the penguins' eggs, and from these men a cooking-pot was borrowed and the passengers set to the tasks of gathering material for a fire, collecting eggs, and watching the pot while the eggs boiled.

Everything had gone down in the ship. Duff had taken with him, in view of the educational scheme given him in outline by his Committee, a

[1] For a full account of the shipwreck see Duff's letter to Dr Inglis, printed in the *Calcutta Mission, Church of Scotland*, 1826-46; also Smith, Vol. I. pp. 71-79.

library of eight hundred books, dealing with a large variety of subjects. They were all lost—except two. A sailor walking along the shore saw an object thrown up by the waves. It was a copy of Bagster's Bible, together with a Scottish Psalter, and Duff's name was clearly written in both. The sailor took the books to the hovel where Duff and the other passengers had taken refuge, and gave them to their owner. It is not surprising that to a man like Duff this came almost as a direct message from God. So he interpreted it, and spreading out the somewhat shattered volumes on the white sand he read to his companions the 107th—" Travellers "—Psalm.

*They that go down to the sea in ships, that do business in great waters ;*
*These see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep.*
*For he commandeth, and raiseth the stormy wind, which lifteth up the waves thereof.*
*They mount up to the heaven, they go down again to the depths : their soul is melted because of trouble.*
*They reel to and fro, and stagger like a drunken man, and are at their wit's end.*
*Then they cry unto the Lord in their trouble, and he bringeth them out of their distresses.*
*He maketh the storm a calm, so that the waves thereof are still.*
*Then are they glad because they be quiet ; so he bringeth them unto their desired haven.*
*Oh that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men !*

The island was Dassen Island in the Atlantic, forty miles N.N.W. of Cape Town and ten miles from the African mainland. The ship's surgeon set out for the coast in the Dutchman's skiff, saw the Governor and obtained from him a warship which took off all the passengers and crew and

landed them safely at Cape Town. Then followed weeks of waiting. The season was advanced, the East Indiamen were full, and the Duffs only got a passage in the *Moira* in March 1830 by paying three thousand rupees.

Near the end of May they passed up the Bay of Bengal, took on the pilot, and began the navigation of the Hooghly river, the westernmost outlet of the Ganges. The boat was hardly moored off Saugar Island when the south-west monsoon burst upon her. The storm became a cyclone—such as are not infrequent in the Bay of Bengal—and the *Moira* was dragged from her moorings and tossed on to a flooded mud bank where, poised on the edge with ten feet of water on one side and seventy on the other, she gradually worked for herself a bed in the clay. With the dawn, it was determined to put the passengers ashore on the island. The pilot and some Indians swam to a large tree which was seen some way off, and to this made fast a hawser, by which all were got ashore. They made their way to a small village, whose inhabitants refused them shelter, and failing any other roof over their heads they took refuge in the village temple. Eventually news of the shipwreck reached Calcutta, boats came down the Hooghly, and in one of them the Duffs travelled the hundred miles up river to Calcutta, thus completing surely as adventurous a journey as any new missionary could wish to have. They landed on the 27th of May 1830, having been more than seven months on their voyage from English shores.

It is said that when the Calcutta papers had the story of the two shipwrecks, the Indians remarked :

"Surely this man is a favourite of the gods, who must have some notable work for him to do in India." [1]

Duff was not without friends in Calcutta from the day of his arrival. John Adam, one of the St Andrews group, was already there in the service of the London Missionary Society, and he with another missionary of the same Society, A. F. Lacroix, afterwards a close friend of Duff, came to see him on the day of his arrival. Later came other visitors, including both Anglican and Presbyterian chaplains, while the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, to whom Duff had letters of introduction, early showed the greatest personal interest in the work the Scottish missionary had come to carry out.

The first duty of the new missionary was to acquaint himself with the work already being done by other missions He had been left with an almost completely free hand by the home Committee. It was understood in general that the plan of the new mission should be educational, and the Committee had suggested that Duff should settle not in Calcutta itself but in some rural centre of Bengal. On his arrival, however, Duff soon came to feel that Calcutta itself was pre-eminently the place where he should work, and the Committee of the Assembly afterwards approved his choice.[2]

Missionary work, as we have already seen, had been carried on in Calcutta and Bengal for a number of years, but the success which had attended it was very small. It had taken the two forms of evangelistic preaching in the vernacular to the people

[1] Smith, Vol. I. p. 85.

[2] R. W. Weir, *Foreign Missions of the Church of Scotland*, p. 37.

in the street or at the wayside, and of vernacular elementary schools. Serampore, which the famous trio—Carey, Marshman and Ward—had made into a fine College, was sixteen miles away, too far to make much impression upon Calcutta. Men like Lacroix would spend hours preaching in wicker and bamboo chapels to the passers-by. Converts were obtained here and there, but they were often orphans, or drawn from the outcastes, and almost no Indians of the kind who could themselves become leaders and teachers were converted. Bengal Christianity was not only small and feeble, but it was not self-propagating.

Not only in Bengal but even in South India, where missions had been longer at work and more converts had been made, the system and inherent power of Hinduism remained unaffected. The converts came from the outcaste and other classes on which the Brahminical system had least hold. Units were detached from the Hindu mass, but the mass remained unimpressed.

Duff was essentially a man of spiritual ambition, and he had come to India intending to assail the very system of Hinduism itself. We shall discuss later his knowledge of Hinduism and his attitude towards it; no doubt at the outset of his career he vastly under-estimated its vitality and power. Meanwhile it is necessary to realize what it was that he was trying to do. He saw around him devoted men, his own friends some of them, labouring with unsparing earnestness according to a method which seemed to him incomplete. He never criticized their methods in themselves. He cordially admitted the validity and usefulness of

general open-air preaching, and vernacular work, but he did not feel that his own work should be established along these lines. His friends were engaged on a direct appeal to Hindus to renounce their faith ; Duff believed he saw the way to weaken and in the end destroy Hinduism itself. As he put it himself, he wanted to prepare a mine which should one day explode beneath the very citadel of Hinduism.

He was strongly opposed by all the missionaries, with one illustrious exception. Towards the end of his period of investigation he went out to Serampore to see William Carey, then near the end of the miraculous career by which he had added an imperishable chapter to the history of Christian missions. As the most famous of Indian missionaries up to that time his opinion was obviously of the highest value to Duff, but he was in addition a great educationist, and had probably more claim to be heard on that particular issue than any other missionary then in India. As Duff, in all the vigour of his young manhood, went up the long flight of steps that lead from the Hooghly river to the College at Serampore, the aged Carey met him and solemnly gave him his blessing. Together they talked out Duff's plans in their entirety, and Carey heartily approved of the new scheme the Scotsman was planning, and urged him to go forward. Duff returned to Calcutta with the support of Carey to balance against the opposition and grave disapproval of practically all the missionary body of Calcutta.[1]

What was Duff's plan ?

Put very briefly it was to use Christian education,

[1] Smith, Vol. I. pp. 105, 106.

carried eventually to the highest level, and given through the medium of English, as the great instrument of the assault upon Hinduism and of the presentation of Christianity. The choice of this policy involved not one but two critical decisions. The first was to make use of higher education as a missionary instrument. The second was to give that higher education through the medium of the English language. It is one measure of the greatness of Duff that a method which is now universally used by almost all missions in India, and which it has probably never occurred to many people even to question, should have been conceived and carried through by this one man at the very outset of his career.

Let us consider these two choices. By Christian education Duff meant something very clear and definite, and the power of his personality is in nothing more distinctly shown than in the clearness with which he grasped his ideal and the constancy with which he followed, defended and expounded it. In all his speaking and writing, even when it is most lengthy and most rhetorical, we never fail to perceive the clear dominating conception of Christian education, worked out in relation to every possible criticism.

By Christian education Duff did not mean solely education in religious ideas, narrowly conceived. He did not, that is to say, regard those subjects as alone coming within the scope of "Christian education" which are related to the Bible and to the explanation of Christian truth. To him all truth was one, and Christianity in his view had everything to gain and nothing to lose by the teaching of truth

in any realm whatever. On the other hand he did not regard as Christian education an ordinary secular higher education with the addition of a period of Biblical instruction each day or each week. To him Christianity—the revelation of God, man, and the world contained in the life and death, the teaching and personality of Jesus Christ —was the centre of all truth, the explanation of the scattered fragments of the world's learning, the key to all mysteries, the consummation of all knowledge.

His ambition—and in the finest sense of the word he was ambitious—was to extend to all who would come the benefits of a Christian education in the sense of instruction in all truth, with the Christian revelation at its centre, related to the whole and inseparable from it.

By this policy he hoped to counter effectively two opponents, the second of which was to him perhaps more dangerous than the first. The one was Brahminical Hinduism, the other, educated agnosticism. The first, as we have seen, he looked to combat by an indirect method. He felt that the results of the direct assault were so small as to be almost negligible : from the point of view of any effect upon the system of Hinduism entirely so. He knew that any direct challenge to Hinduism, its ideals, its cosmological notions, its history and ethics, raised in the mind of the loyal Hindu an initial opposition, and tended to increase in him the already existing disposition to defend his ancestral faith. If, however, he could train the minds of keen young Indians in the truths of modern learning— educate them in history and philosophy, in literature

and natural science—he reckoned that inevitably much of the Hindu world of thought would melt away in their minds, and the presuppositions on which Hinduism depends be banished almost imperceptibly.

The other enemy, educated agnosticism, he found already confronting him in the products of the Calcutta Hindu College,[1] and in the influence of such Western learning as had already become known in Calcutta. It had certainly destroyed Hinduism in the minds of those whom it had affected, but it had left in its place nothing but a shallow materialistic philosophy, a cynical negation of all faith, a moral and spiritual vacuity. To this Duff would oppose the majesty of a complete presentation of the Christian view of life. He would count it wrong to pull down and not build up, and all his life he passionately inveighed against the secularism with which European influence had defiled India. He desired to train up his pupils in a Christian philosophy of life, and, having shown the emptiness of the old, to bestow something which could maintain itself alongside of the newer learning, and indeed crown and complete that learning by exhibiting the central truths to which all others are related.

This then was the one great decision, to use the instrument of Christian higher education. The other, not less difficult and in the prevailing atmosphere of Calcutta perhaps more difficult to make, was the choice of English as the medium through which this education should be given.

A great struggle, to which we shall have occasion

[1] See Chapter I.

to refer at length later, was raging in Calcutta, and raged more furiously each year until the Macaulay Minute of 1835,[1] between the "Orientalists" and the "Anglicists," that is to say between those who held that the learned languages of India—Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian—should be the medium of higher education, and those who held that English should be that medium. The Government, all the most famous Orientalists, and many of the missionaries took the former line. The existing language of Government was Persian. Government money supported Arabic and Sanskrit studies. All authority and influence were arrayed on that side. Duff took the other side, and as it turned out he had the Indians with him. The choice lay not only between two languages, but between two cultures. Sanskrit is a great language, containing the classical works of Hinduism, and well worthy of the study which it received and still receives. But if the purpose of Indian education is to endow India with the heritage, not only of her own ancient culture, but also with the great body of thought and learning built up in recent centuries in the West, as Duff's purpose certainly was, then it was plainly impossible that Sanskrit (or Arabic or Persian) could be the medium of such education. The argument for Sanskrit was an argument against Duff's conception of education.

Nor would Bengali—the current speech of that part of India in which Duff was to work—have proved a satisfactory medium of the education he wanted to give. As a vernacular it was in those days poor. Sanskrit was wealthy, but the wealth

[1] See Chapter VI.

was not the wealth that Duff desired. Bengali contained none of the terms, none of the ideas he wanted. Ultimately, indeed, he hoped that Bengali would be the medium of education, and he was in this way as keen a vernacularist as any missionary, but he saw that before this could be done a generation must arise which had been educated in English, and could gradually develop Bengali as a vernacular instrument, and by translation of European works make possible Bengali education of a higher grade.

It is scarcely open to doubt that Duff was right in his choice; indeed it is clear at this distance of time that the other alternative would have been merely a negation of progress. Yet in spite of all argument he could not convince his missionary friends. They feared the growth of a new class of Bengalis, with a smattering of English, who would turn into ne'er-do-wells. As one earnest man said to Duff at the end of an interview: "You will fill Calcutta with rogues and villains"!

Here is Duff's own defence of his method, given later in Scotland, but containing nothing which he did not say at the time when the decision had to be made and he had to commend his policy in an almost entirely hostile environment.

> It now appeared that, as regarded the communication of a course of knowledge in any of its higher departments, to a select portion of Hindu youth, the choice could only lie between two, viz., the Sanskrit or learned language of the natives; and the English, the language of their rulers.
>
> The determination of this choice involved the decision of one of the momentous practical questions connected with the ultimate evangelization of India; a question which has ever since convulsed nearly the whole world

of Orientalists and Christian philanthropists. The question was, Which shall hereafter be established as the *language of learning* in India? Which will prove the most effective instrument of a large, liberal, and enlightened education?—the best primary medium of conveying the literature, science and Christian theology of Europe to those who by their instruction and example are to be the teachers and guides of their countrymen? The wrong determination of so vital a question, *at the outset*, would have greatly retarded and embarrassed every subsequent movement. It was not, therefore, without earnest prayer to God for counsel and direction, that a decision was attempted.

It would seem at first view, that there could be no room for hesitation. All argument and authority not only preponderated in favour of the Sanskrit, but *seemed* exclusively to favour it. The Supreme Government had decided in its favour. Their schemes of education were essentially based on the assumption, that as a matter of course, and without the possibility of dispute, it must be the best. All learned Orientalists, whose opinion had hitherto been despotic and uncontrollable law, were enthusiastically and exclusively in its favour. And what was most silencing of all, the theory and practice of some of the oldest and most experienced Missionaries in Bengal were decidedly in its favour. Against such a formidable array of authority, who could have the hardihood to contend? Must not the very muttering of dissent be ascribed to the mere love of singularity, or be branded as a grand impertinence! Yet it was in the face of the highest authorities—in the face of Government enactments, and learned dissertations, and the practices of Christian philanthropists—that the resolution was taken after the maturest consideration, wholly to repudiate the Sanskrit and other learned languages of India as the best instruments of a superior education—and openly and fearlessly to proclaim the English the most effective medium of Indian illumination—the best and amplest channel for speedily letting in the full stream of European knowledge on the minds of those who by their status in society, their character and attainments, their professional occupations as teachers and preachers,

were destined to influence and direct the national intellect and heart of India. . . . Suppose Sanskrit were as perfect an instrument as the English for conveying European knowledge, which it is not; suppose it were as easy of acquisition as the English to native youth, which it is not; suppose the attainment of it were as open to all classes as the English, which it is not—seeing that, by an ordinance reckoned to be divine, three-fourths of the people, consisting of the lowest and mixed classes, are, under pains and penalties, forbidden the study of it; suppose, in short, it possessed all the advantages which the English does, as a *lingual* vehicle, how different, how contrary the results produced on a native mind by the respective acquirements of these two languages! There are scarcely any European works translated into the Sanskrit; and even if there were, every term in that sacred tongue is linked inseparably with some idea, or sentiment, or deduction of Hinduism, which is a stupendous system of error;—so that a native in acquiring it becomes indoctrinated into a false system; and, after having mastered it, is apt to become *tenfold more* a child of Pantheism, idolatry, and superstition than before! Whereas, in the very act of acquiring English, the mind, in grasping the import of *new terms*, is perpetually brought into contact with the *new ideas*, the *new truths*, of which these terms are the symbols and representatives;—so that, by the time that the language has been mastered, the student must be *tenfold less* the child of Pantheism, idolatry, and superstition than before.[1]

In another passage Duff remarks:

From the circulation of European literature and science, but *wholly exclusive of morality and religion*, the young illuminati, too wise to continue the dupes and slaves of an irrational and monstrous superstition, do, it is admitted, openly enlist themselves in the ranks of infidelity. Here, then, is a *new* power which threatens soon to become more formidable than idolatry itself. Already it has begun to display some of its ghastly

[1] Alexander Duff, *India and Indian Missions*, pp. 541-4.

features, and boastfully to exhibit its prognostics of anticipated triumph. And in the storm of conflicting opinions which seems gathering on all sides, it may easily be foreseen that, unless our vigilance and exertions are increased in a tenfold degree, infidelity, and not Christianity, will be the power that must cause the downfall of idolatry; and with it also the overthrow of all that we most value. It becomes then a question of vital, of paramount importance—How are we most effectually to resist the encroachments of this new anti-idolatrous and anti-Christian power? Can any plan be devised more likely to arrest its desolating progress than the founding of a superior Christian seminary; with the view of raising up another race of young men, who, having their minds imbued with the enlightened spirit of modern science, and regulated and controlled by the principles of true religion and sound morality, can challenge the common enemy *on his own terms*; and, aided from on high, eventually carry by storm the strongest positions of his lofty citadel? And if *some* expedient appear manifestly *necessary* to meet this *new* state of things, and that now suggested promises, under the Divine blessing, to prove the most effectual, ought we to linger in ruinous indecision? Or is it wise to delay the adoption of the projected measure, till, by our procrastination, we allow the opposing influences to grow and swell into a torrent, which may sweep away in its impetuous career every bulwark that we can oppose to it? Reason and expediency proclaim, No.

Opposed and derided, Duff went ahead. The choice with which, as Dr Richter has said, modern Indian missions really began was made within a few weeks of his arrival in India, by a young man of twenty-four. We shall see in ensuing chapters how his plan worked, and how far-reaching were its effects upon the policy not only of missions but of the Government itself.

## CHAPTER V

### HOW THE METHOD WORKED

### 1830–1834

To open a school, or a college on a small scale, teaching English subjects would not have been difficult, as the Bengalis wanted such institutions, and had already shown their enthusiasm for them. But a school or college in which the Bible was taught as an essential part of the course—that was a very different thing. Duff had been told by many of his friends that it would be totally impossible to get any students to come at all, so great would be the hostility of organized Hinduism. For a time it looked as if this prophecy would come true. He could not even find a building in the Indian city; no one would let to him. This difficulty was solved by the help of Raja Ram Mohan Roy.

This remarkable man was now advanced in years. His relations with Duff began towards the end of his life in India, and when the experiment was well on the way to success he left India for England and died not long after at Bristol. In many ways he was one of the most distinguished of all the sons of India. Born in 1774, he was the son of a Brahmin landowner who had been in the employ of Suraj-ud-Dowlah, the author of the "Black Hole" tragedy. The son very early showed a deep interest in spiritual things, and though he departed

totally from his parents' beliefs, he doubtless owed to them his early bent towards the realities of religion. When still a boy he engaged in a thorough study of the sources of Hindu belief, became a Sanskrit scholar, took courses in Arabic and Persian, and learned a good deal about Mohammedanism. The result was that at the age of sixteen he wrote an attack on the "idolatrous system of the Hindus." Much of his life he spent in examination of different forms of religious belief, never as a mere spectator, but with the intense earnestness of the man to whom the truth matters more than anything in the world.

Ram Mohan Roy was about twenty years of age when he first began to come into contact with Europeans, and though, as he himself says, he had been prejudiced against them he speedily conceived a better opinion of those whom he met. He took service under the British administration and became distinguished for the ability and integrity he showed. When his official career was over he gave himself entirely to religious and social reform. In the latter sphere he has become well-known to all English students of Indian affairs by his association with Lord William Bentinck in the suppression of *suttee*,[1] and he is virtually the founder of the modern social reform movement which has latterly attained to such large dimensions. He was well in the van of progress, not only in regard to acknowledged evils such as *suttee*, but along the whole range of public policy. On the great question of English

[1] Or *sati*; properly denotes a "good or virtuous woman," *i.e.* one who proves her virtue by immolating herself on her husband's funeral-pyre; commonly used to denote, not the person, but the practice of widow-burning.

education he was passionately on the side of the new learning, and as we shall see in the next chapter he made particularly cogent representations to Government on that subject.

There is something very moving about the religious struggle of this great man. He was a student not only of the Upanishads [1] and the Koran, but of the New Testament also, and there can be few of the sons of India, even of those who have taken the Christian name, who have more deeply imbibed the teaching of Jesus. He was a theist, and took towards Hinduism the attitude of a reformer, for he believed that there lay behind the corruptions of the popular cults he beheld around him a purer faith, which was to be found in the Vedas, and which had been overlaid by the accretions of Brahminism. In 1814 he opened the *Brahma Sabha*, later the *Brahma Samaj*,[2] "to teach and to practise the worship of the one supreme, undivided and eternal God." He was not a recluse, for he went with his followers out into the highways to preach what he believed to be the truth. "All is vain without the blessing of God. Remember Him who can deprive you of wife, children, friends, relatives and wealth. He is the Supreme . . . to Him belong no titles or distinctions. It is written 'Blessed is he whose soul dwelleth on Him.' . . . Why dost thou mistrust thine own soul? . . . God dwelleth even in thine own heart."

Ram Mohan Roy's presence in this country made the

[1] The ancient philosophical treatises of Hinduism.

[2] *Brahma*=the name of the Supreme Being; *Samaj*=society; a Hindu theistic or unitarian society, which has had close relations with the English Unitarians.

English people aware, as they had never been before, of the dignity, the culture, the piety of the race they had conquered in the East. In the court of the King, in the halls of legislature, in the select coteries of fashion, in the society of philosophers and men of letters, in the Anglican Church and in Nonconformist meeting-houses, in the privacy of many a home and before wondering crowds of Lancashire operatives, Ram Mohan Roy stood forth the visible and personal embodiment of our Eastern Empire. He had interpreted England to India, so now he interpreted India to England. . . .

His place in the history of his country is very high. . . . Ram Mohan Roy stands in history as the living bridge over which India marches from her unmeasured past to her incalculable future. He was the arch which spanned the gulf that yawned between ancient caste and modern humanity, between superstition and science, between despotism and democracy, between immobile custom and a conservative progress, between a bewildering polytheism and a pure, if vague, theism. He was the mediator of his people, harmonizing in his own person, often by means of his own solitary sufferings, the conflicting tendencies of immemorial tradition and of inevitable enlightenment.[1]

It is held by some that Ram Mohan Roy died a Christian. Certainly we should regard him now with much more sympathy than was accorded to him during his life-time by some even of the most able missionaries. They misunderstood him, and they thought of his efforts more as the preaching of what might roughly be called a kind of Unitarianism than as the courageous witness on the part of one who had been nurtured within the Hindu fold, to the nature and majesty of God. Even the Serampore men attacked him. Perhaps if more understanding treatment had come to him the end might have been different. As it was, he so greatly

[1] Collett's *Life and Letters of Ram Mohan Roy.*

alarmed the orthodox Hindus of Calcutta that a rival organization was formed, known as the *Dharma Sabha*,[1] in defence of Brahminism and all its ways.

Duff was soon introduced to the great reformer, and found in him both encouragement and help for the unpopular work in which he was engaging. He explained to Ram Mohan his difficulty about a room in which his school could meet. The Raja came to the rescue. His *Sabha* had just transferred itself to new premises, and he now proposed that the missionary's school should be started in the building he had vacated. He himself drove to the hall and secured it from the Brahmin owners for four pounds a month. "Pointing to a punkah suspended from the roof Ram Mohan said with a smile, 'I leave you that as my legacy.'"[2]

Not only did Ram Mohan provide the hall, but he also provided the first pupils. It is remarkable to see how earnestly Duff strove to make perfectly clear to Hindu Calcutta exactly the kind of education he intended to give. He put his Bible teaching in the very forefront. He proposed to give Christian education on the general principles we have already described, and he was determined that there should be no misunderstanding anywhere, even though it cost him the most strenuous opposition. The opposition was forthcoming. The news ran through Calcutta that the new missionary actually proposed to cause Hindu youths to take in their hands and read the Christian sacred book, and it was assumed

[1] *Dharma*=religion, morality, the established right way of acting; *Sabha*=society; therefore a society (naturally conservative) aiming at preserving the old beliefs and social customs of Hinduism.

[2] Smith, Vol. I. p. 120.

that he desired thus to work on them some magical change whereby they would become Christians! It looked for a time as though there would be no pupils at all. It was here that the help of Ram Mohan proved invaluable. He persuaded some of his friends, who shared his own liberal views, to send their sons out of consideration for him to the missionary's school. So it came about that five young men presented themselves to the missionary with a letter saying that they came with the full consent of their relatives. To these Duff explained his plans. A day or two later others appeared, and on each morning fresh applications came in, until it became necessary to refuse some of those least qualified. The school was opened on July 13th 1830 at 10 a.m., and the Raja had promised to attend in order to explain any difficulties.

Duff began this memorable first session by reading the Lord's Prayer slowly in Bengali, while Ram Mohan Roy and the students stood. Then he put a copy of the Gospel into their hands and invited some of the older pupils to read. This caused some disquietude among them. "This is the Christian *Shastras*" (religious law), said one young Brahmin. "We are not Christians; how then can we read it? It may make us Christian, and our friends will drive us out of caste." These hesitations Ram Mohan was able to dispel. He explained to them that famous English Orientalists like Dr H. H. Wilson had studied the Koran and the Hindu Shastras and had not become Moslems or Hindus, and that he himself knew the Bible intimately but was not a Christian. The Bible was not magic, it was a book that carried its own message, and they

could read it without fear and judge for themselves of its contents. For a whole month Ram Mohan visited the school daily at ten for the Bible lesson, and many times after that, until he left India for England, he came to show his sympathy with Duff and to give the help of his name and prestige to his work.[1]

Duff himself put his whole strength and impetuous yet patient energy into his school. He had to start at the very beginning and he thought nothing too elementary or too trivial for his care and labour. Six hours a day he spent in teaching three hundred Bengali youths the English alphabet, and his leisure went in preparing for the use of his pupils graduated school-books, which kept their place in Indian mission schools for a generation.

As the school began to succeed an important new step was taken. No one was henceforth to be allowed to enter the English classes who could not read and write his own vernacular tongue. A Bengali department was created, taught by pundits, and not only did those who had not yet qualified for the English teaching attend it, but those in the English classes were required also to spend one hour of each day in Bengali study. It was a most important step. The effect of the policy when developed on a large scale was that Bengali, then a far less opulent language than now, was enriched with words and phrases, and Bengali literature with ideas, drawn from English studies; moreover, such vernacular study had a most intimate bearing upon the personal development of the pupils. It has been charged against the system of English educa-

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 121, 122.

tion in India that it removes Indian students from their natural cultural environment. To this general problem we shall devote attention later, but it is important to note now that Duff himself took a statesmanlike view of the importance of vernacular teaching and at a very early stage incorporated it into his system.

After twelve months of steady progress, during which Duff gained ground every day in the confidence and affection of Indians, although the missionary community still viewed him with deep suspicion, he decided to hold a public examination of his pupils to which he would invite the outside community. The examination took place in the Freemasons' Hall, and proved a triumphant success. It was an oral examination—Duff was a great believer in oral methods of teaching, by question and answer—and the students showed what they could do in reading, in grammar, geography and arithmetic, and in reading the Bible and answering questions upon its contents. The whole performance created the greatest possible impression, chiefly perhaps through the sight of the Hindu boys, contrary to all prediction, showing genuine interest in and knowledge of the Christian Scriptures.

This examination proved the turning point so far as popular appreciation was concerned. The leading European papers [1] of Calcutta had reporters present, and Duff and his school soon became the talk of the city. Many prominent English residents became convinced believers in Duff's methods, and the leaders of the Indian community changed

[1] See full account given at the time in those Calcutta newspapers, reprinted in *Calcutta Mission, Church of Scotland*, 1826-46, pp. 47-50.

their attitude so considerably that floods of applications poured in to the institution, and so many visitors desired to see the school in working that a special day had to be set aside for them, to prevent discipline being ruined.

Moreover, increased numbers and confidence meant the possibility of progress in the standard of education. Indian assistants offered themselves and were given charge of the more elementary classes, while the older pupils in the English classes went on to studies of a more collegiate standard. In addition to this Duff was asked to open a branch school at Takee, fifty miles from Calcutta. Meanwhile he was receiving reinforcement from Scotland, the Committee having sent out W. S. Mackay, an Aberdeen man who had read theology at St Andrews and completed his course there one year later than Duff. They were already friends, and Mackay proved a colleague of the greatest value. The growth of the school and college, however, together with the Takee branch, was proving more than even these two men could supervise, and Duff found another helper in Mr Clift, who had been a fellow-passenger of his on the *Moira*. This man, after the failure of the commercial firm to which he was attached, joined Duff and was given charge of Takee, while he worked out, with Duff's collaboration, an elementary treatise in economics for the use of the Bengali students. Duff's own mind must have been full of memories of Chalmers' lecture-room at St Andrews as he worked at the new text-book. There are still people who would regard the teaching of economics as a misuse of a missionary's time, so that we need not be surprised to learn that

this new departure of Duff's was formally condemned by his home Committee. This is an interesting sidelight on the astonishing degree to which Duff surpassed the missionary conceptions of his day, and also on that fearless faith of his in the value of truth—all truth, of whatever kind—to which we shall have occasion to refer again.

Duff was now to enter on a period of his life which is perhaps as dramatic as any in the annals of Indian missions. When he was making his plans and formulating his policy he foresaw the effect his teaching would cause and compared it to the explosion of a mine. The excitement caused by his work is scarcely credible—excitement now of partisanship and now of ferocious opposition. Speaking of the popularity that followed his public examination Duff says: "They threw open the doors of our palankeen and poured in their supplications with a pitiful earnestness. . . . They craved for 'English reading'—'English knowledge.' . . . In broken English some would say, 'Me good boy, oh take me'; others, 'Me poor boy, oh take me'; some, 'Me want read your good books, oh take me'; others, 'Me know your commandments, Thou shalt have no other gods before Me—oh take me'; and many, by way of final appeal, 'Oh take me, and I pray for you.'"[1] The pressure continued, and was not diminished by any of the steps Duff took to complete the orderly establishment of his college, such as the insistence on payment for class books, and on formal undertaking by parents and guardians that students should attend classes regularly.

Neither, at least for a period, did the teaching of

[1] Smith, Vol. I. pp. 136, 137.

Christianity arouse opposition. Parents came themselves to hear the teaching and to satisfy themselves that their fears of magic were unfounded. Duff tells of the effect of the first contact of the young Bengali mind with the Gospels, the Lord's Prayer, some of the Parables, and then a little later parts of the Epistles. On one occasion he was reading and explaining St Paul's words to the Corinthians about love, and when he came to the phrase "endureth all things" a Bengali student, a young Brahmin who not long before had risen to oppose the teaching of the Bible, "now started up from his seat, exclaiming aloud, 'Oh, sir, that is too good for us. Who can act up to that? Who can act up to that?'"[1]

Opposition, however, soon became vocal. One of the effects of the missionary's teaching was to liberate the minds of his students so that they could form judgments for themselves. It was inevitable that a certain number of them should express this new-found freedom in ways which were distasteful to orthodox Hindus. They did not hesitate to proclaim the disbelief and contempt they cherished towards the popular cults. Most of them had got no further than a perception of what they did *not* believe; they were destructive, but had no simpler and truer religious faith to put in the place of that which they disowned. This dogmatic agnosticism was the prevalent atmosphere of the Hindu College, but as the firstfruits of the labours of the misssionary it appeared far more dangerous, and the cry was raised that Hinduism was in peril. One morning Duff came down to his college to find only half a

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 139.

dozen out of his three hundred students present. The cause became apparent in a leading article in the *Chandrika,* a paper expressing the views of the very orthodox *Dharma Sabha,* which declared that all who should attend the missionary's college would be outcasted. It was even proposed that "a yellow flag should be planted in front of the building to warn the unwary against the moral pestilence." But the *Dharma Sabha* had over-estimated its own power to control opinion. Calcutta Hindus were perhaps too much accustomed by this time to the rationalist temper to be greatly disturbed by it. Very soon the tumult subsided, and the college went on its way, the hold which Duff was establishing over Indian society strengthening every day. A little later, however, a greater storm arose.

Duff was immensely interested in the group of Hindus, mostly the product of the Hindu College, who had drunk deeply of the fountain of Western rationalism, and in a spirit sometimes it may be of intellectual licence but often of real desire for truth, were examining all religious ideas and subjecting popular Hinduism to severe criticism. These men were more advanced in Western studies than his own students, as their college had been longer established, but in place of Hinduism they had taken to the most virulent forms of Western rationalism. Duff did not share the horror of these men that some of his Christian contemporaries appear to have felt. He regarded them as allies of a sort, joined with him at least in bringing to bear on Hinduism the judgments of a rational intellect, and he greatly desired to lay before their keen and unprejudiced

minds the case, as he saw it, for the Christian religion.

> We rejoiced [he says] when we came in contact with a rising body of Indians, who had learnt to think and to discuss all subjects with unshackled freedom, though that freedom was ever apt to degenerate into licence in attempting to demolish the claims and pretensions of the Christian as well as of every other professedly revealed faith. We hailed the circumstance, as indicating the approach of a period for which we had waited and longed and prayed. We hailed it as heralding the dawn of an auspicious era—an era that introduced something new into the hitherto undisturbed reign of a hoary, and tyrannous antiquity.[1]

He planned a course of lectures on natural and revealed religion for the benefit of any educated Indians who cared to attend. In the effort he was aided by his old friend John Adam, by Dr Dealby, chaplain of the Old Church, and by James Hill, the minister of the Union Chapel, and they divided the course between them, planning to cover in rough outline the main themes of a Christian apologetic. An introductory lecture was to be given by Hill on the moral qualifications needed for the investigation of truth. Duff arranged for the lectures to take place in his house, which was now in College Square, in the very heart of the Indian city of Calcutta. On a night early in August 1831 twenty men, comprising the ablest students in the Hindu College, together with some of Duff's own, met to hear Hill's address. It was, as the subject would indicate, not controversial, and the real struggle was expected later when Duff was to lecture on "God and His Revealing."

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 145.

The latter lecture never took place. The news spread all over Calcutta that Hindu young men had been attending a lecture on Christianity in a Christian missionary's home. Duff's College was deserted, the city was in an uproar. The tumult this time did not die down as speedily as before. The leaders of the orthodox Hindu party attacked not only Duff but the Government itself. "Had it not promised to abstain from interference with their religion, and now insidiously it had brought out a wild padre, and planted him just opposite the college, like a battery, to break down the bulwarks of the Hindu faith and put Christianity in its place." Duff interviewed the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, and sought his advice, explaining what he had done and what he proposed to do. The Governor-General, who was at all times most sympathetic to Duff and his work and far from deficient in courage when he judged that a bold line had to be taken, counselled Duff to abandon the lectures and allow the tumult to subside.

This advice Duff accepted, and employed the leisure gained by the abandonment of the lectures in pursuing the study of the Bengali language, in which after a year he became able to speak and preach with moderate fluency. Meanwhile the young "liberals" who had desired the lectures formed debating societies of their own, and to these Duff would go and take part in their discussions. He records how deeply these young Indians were interested in the Reform Bill, then being introduced into the British Parliament. It is a good example of that "unity of the world" of which so much has been heard in recent years. Men who on rational

grounds found themselves compelled to oppose caste and idolatry in their own land, were encouraged by the Bill, and felt themselves at one with those who in the West were levelling the barriers of privilege. Duff quotes with glee a conversation on the subject of caste with a young Brahmin, who suddenly broke into a quotation from Robert Burns:

*For a' that, and a' that,*
*It's comin' yet, for a' that,*
*That man to man, the warld o'er,*
*Shall brithers be, for a' that.*

But in so powerful a movement away from traditional Hinduism it was inevitable that a crisis should come; and the crisis centred in the personality of Krishna Mohan Banerjea, perhaps the most notable of all Duff's converts. He was a Kulin Brahmin—a Brahmin, that is, of the highest rank—but of all the rationalist critics of Hinduism he was at once the ablest and the most ardent. In the *Enquirer*, a journal started by the liberals, he waged a most vigorous attack on Brahminism. The *Dharma Sabha* threatened him and his friends with excommunication, but he appeared positively to relish the prospect, and openly urged the formation not only of a school of thought but of a definite party pledged to a complete break with Hinduism. His desire was achieved, and in an unexpected way.

One night towards the end of this same August 1831, when Banerjea was absent from his parents' house, a party of the liberals met, and to demonstrate their complete freedom from Hindu convention they had some beef, which is strictly forbidden as food to orthodox Hindus, brought in from the bazaar, and

consumed it in Banerjea's room. He returned and joined them, and after his return, though as Duff held not with his approbation, the remains of the beef were thrown into the compound of a strict Brahmin, with the cry, "There is beef." It seems to have been an act much more in the spirit of what would now be called a "rag" than in that of calculated insult, but from the point of view of an orthodox Hindu no more blasphemous insult was possible. The Brahmin and his friends gathered round and violently attacked Banerjea and his party, and subsequently threatened his family that the whole of them would be outcasted unless they disowned the heretic. His family yielded to the tremendous pressure, and Banerjea was given the choice between a formal recantation of all his views, and the doom of the outcaste. He was willing to apologize for the foolish incident of the beef-throwing, but this was not enough. His opinions were too well known and too well hated. Accordingly, as he would not say that he believed what he did not believe, he was driven out about midnight from his family dwelling, hardly knowing whither he was to go.[1]

Banerjea himself, in accounts of this crisis written long afterwards, makes it clear that while at this time he could not be called a Hindu, he could certainly not be called a Christian. In his organ, the *Enquirer*, he continued his policy of open discussion of everything that seemed to point the way to the longed-for truth. Duff asked him to his house and explained how much he sympathized with the *Enquirer's* stand against error, but how

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 153-5.

much he deplored its unwillingness to examine the doctrines of Christianity carefully and systematically. This seems to have made a deep impression on Banerjea, and it would appear that his personal sufferings had awakened in him a sense of the need for religious certainty, and a conviction that it was in religious belief that the end of his quest would be found. He and his friends were reformers, but they knew themselves to have nothing to give in place of that which they were resolved to demolish. They believed Hinduism to be false, but what was true they knew not.

The determining factor in this man's life, and in that of several of his friends, was beyond all question personal contact with Duff. Privately and in public or semi-public lectures, Duff laid before them the Christian view of God and the world, and tried to lead them into a personal realization of its meaning and truth. It is a curious and a dramatic story, for his dealings with these men were carried on almost as on a stage where all could see, not by his choice, but on account of the intense public interest and hostility which Duff had excited, and on the other hand through the running commentary of the *Enquirer,* which reflected week by week the changing views of Banerjea and his friends.

The first convert was not Banerjea, but Mohesh Chunder Ghose, one of the Hindu College men, who had for long been meditating the final step. In his confession of faith he explained how he had at every stage fought against Christianity, and when intellectually convinced had remained unchanged in feeling. As his conscience awakened he became acutely miserable, and then began to find help in the

words of the Bible—why and how he could not say. "In spite of myself," he said, "I became a Christian."

This was in August 1832, and in the following October Krishna Mohan Banerjea was baptized. His path had been more severely intellectual than that of Mohesh Chunder, and he had gradually fought his way through to belief in the Divinity of Christ and the Atonement. He was a man of massive mind, destined to be one of the most illustrious of Indian Christians, a fine prince of the Church. In December of the same year Gopinath Nundi professed his faith and was baptized, like Banerjea, in the class-room where all the disputations had taken place. Every pressure was put on him by his family and his caste, but without avail. Even the terrible grief of his Hindu mother—surely the most grievous pain any Indian Christian has to bear—did not change his determination to be a professed Christian. The fourth convert was Anando Chand Mozumdar, one of Duff's own pupils in the school, and one of the first to be moved by his Bible teaching. He was baptized in April 1833.

These four men were the firstfruits of Duff's labours in India, and their profession of Christian faith the outcome of those dramatic early years. Hindu thought and life had been shaken to the foundations, new influences had been set at work which would take long to quench, but these four had against all opposition, risking life itself and all that makes life glad, in the face of all men confessed their faith in Jesus Christ.

If the conversion of these men meant much to Duff, it meant much also to India. Dr Richter, speaking of Duff's early converts, says :

What remarkable personalities, what pillars in the Indian Church are included among them ! . . . Krishna Mohan Banerjea, Gopinath Nundi, Mohesh Chunder Ghose, Anando Chand Mozumdar . . . are the glittering stars in the firmament of the Indian Christian world. It was something wholly new for North India no longer to see orphan children picked up anywhere, outcastes, beggars and cripples becoming members of the Christian Church, but in their stead scions of the noblest houses. . . . The present writer whilst at Calcutta had an opportunity of conversing with several members of these distinguished families, both Christian and heathen, concerning the marvellous period of Duff's activity. They were unanimous in asserting it to be a time wholly unique ; they stated that in the highest circles Christianity became the subject of the most animated and most interested discussion ; that every family had to face the conversion of its most able and gifted members, and that an excitement and a tremor swept through Hindu society such as had never been experienced before —nor since.[1]

[1] Julius Richter, *A History of Missions in India*, p. 184.

## CHAPTER VI

### A NEW EDUCATIONAL POLICY FOR INDIA

*Centering in the year* 1835

So great an educational experiment as Duff was making could not but attract the notice of Government. The attention of the Governor-General had been called to the excitement caused by his lectures, and in a good many unobtrusive ways Lord William Bentinck, while preserving the public neutrality required of him by his position, had shown the missionary the deep interest he took in his work. Duff's enterprise was more, however, than one among many philanthropic efforts to all of which the Governor-General would be expected to give his countenance and support. It so happened that at the time of Duff's arrival in India the question of the type of education on which public money should be spent was in the very forefront of current controversy, and the work done by Duff had, by the consent of those most intimately concerned with the agitation, a considerable bearing on the issue of the struggle.

We have seen already that beginnings in education had been made by Government a number of years before Duff arrived in India. In 1781 a Mohammedan College had been established in Calcutta, and in 1792 a Sanskrit College at Benares. It is to be remembered that the policy of the East

India Company was to keep the atmosphere of government oriental, and for a long time Persian was maintained as the language of Government and of the Courts. Accordingly one of the main functions of such educational institutions as were started by the Company was the supply of clerks and other workers for Government service. Sir Charles Trevelyan says that "the object of it was to provide a regular supply of qualified Hindu and Mohammedan law officers for the judicial administration." [1] The course of study in these colleges was purely oriental. While it may be said without injustice that these institutions had at the beginning primarily a utilitarian purpose, they were in the end supported by a number of Europeans on the ground of real interest in oriental studies, and the Orientalists in the struggle which is now to be described were not mere obscurantists, but, in several cases at least, men of distinction in oriental scholarship and in genuine regard for Indian culture.

In 1813, at the renewing of the Company's charter, when provision was first made for chaplains in India, a very important clause was inserted in the charter, enacting that the sum of £10,000 should be set aside annually "for the revival and promotion of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories." Although this provision was legally enjoined it remained for some time a dead letter, until in 1823 it was resolved to form a general committee of public instruction. The

[1] The author is indebted for much of the material of this chapter to Sir Charles Trevelyan's *The Education of the People of India* (1838).

functions of this committee were to survey the conditions of such schools and colleges as existed, and to make suggestions to Government for the improvement and development of the education of the people. From 1823 onwards this committee was in power.

The first action of the new committee was to complete the arrangements for a new Sanskrit College in Calcutta, in imitation of the older one at Benares. Further, it set about founding two more oriental colleges at Delhi and Agra, and spent a great deal of public money in printing Arabic and Sanskrit books, as well as in employing an accomplished oriental scholar in translating European scientific works into Arabic. It is true that in addition to this it took under its wing the Hindu College, begun in 1816 by the Indians themselves to give instruction in English learning, and established English classes in connection with the Mohammedan and Sanskrit Colleges at Calcutta, and at the Benares and Agra Colleges. In the committee's report for 1831 testimony is borne to the excellence of the results achieved in English education, and the enthusiasm of the students. Nevertheless, it is plain that the committee was really interested in oriental culture, and that it held that the dissemination of learning through the medium of the learned tongues of India should be its main task.

To these ends it devoted the greater part of the annual sum of £10,000 set apart for educational purposes. In order to secure an adequate number of students for the colleges it had founded, small stipends were provided for those who were willing

to undertake the courses of study. However, a great deal of money was spent in editing Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit classics and in procuring translations of European books, mathematical and scientific, into Arabic or Sanskrit. Not only were these works exceedingly costly—£6500 was assigned for the translation into Arabic of six books alone—but hardly anyone could be found to buy the books when they had been thus translated. During the last three years in which the committee's book depository was carried on, only £100 was realized in sales, and the mere cost of maintaining the depository was over £750 a year.

The policy of the committee seems to have been dictated by two considerations. The first was the keen orientalism of its members. They were in charge of the work of public instruction, but they behaved as if they were the committee of the Asiatic Society, and they used public money for objects which were much more appropriate to a learned society than to a committee for national education. They conceived of learning as being geographical in its nature. Western learning was one thing, Eastern learning another, and the only proper study for cultivated Indians must be Eastern learning. They made concessions to the growing tide of opposition by including here and there English classes, but the success of these was hampered by the great preponderance of time and energy devoted to Arabic and Sanskrit studies.

Secondly, the members of the committee were honestly convinced that the teaching of English and English learning would be resented by the Indians, and that it would offend religious sus-

ceptibilities: that not only was there no demand for it, but that it would be impossible to carry it out. Their view is definitely stated in a letter written in 1824 from the committee to the Court of Directors of the East India Company in London. Yet for eight years the Hindu College had been showing the zeal with which the Indians prosecuted English studies in a college erected by their own liberality, and in which, so far from being given stipends to attract them, students paid fees themselves.

On one point the Orientalists and the Anglicists did not differ. Both agreed that for the education of the masses of the people only one medium was possible, the vernacular. But for either English culture or classical oriental culture, the vernaculars as they stood were impossible as media of instruction. They contained almost no literature. Those who would teach the people must themselves first be taught, and having been taught, apply themselves to the creation and enrichment of a vernacular literature. On this all were agreed, but there agreement ended. One party held to the ancient studies, the other to English culture; one believed that in the Sanskrit and Arabic classics, with perhaps some admixture of European ideas, existed all that India needed for her people's education, the other that European culture, given necessarily through the medium of English, contained not *Western* truth, but *truth*, and that it should not be denied to India.

The struggle was not merely between two sections of a committee. The Indian public was itself divided. On the one hand there were the men who had been trained in the oriental learning, whose

livelihood (it is not unfair to say) depended upon the continuance of Government support of that learning, and who naturally shrank from the prospect of having snatched from them the one form of activity for which they had been trained. A vested interest had been created. On the other hand, the evidence was strong and stronger every year that multitudes of Indians desired English learning. There was the Hindu College, from first to last the fruit of Indian initiative, where, on the admission of the committee itself, " a command of the English language and a familiarity with its literature and science have been acquired to an extent rarely equalled by any school in Europe. A taste for English has been widely disseminated, and independent schools, conducted by young men reared in the Hindu College, are springing up in every direction." There was the amazing success which had attended Duff's educational experiment, success all the more astonishing when we consider the handicap to which, so far at least as popularity went, he subjected himself by his Christian teaching and evangelistic zeal. There was further the whole force of the liberal, reforming party led by Raja Ram Mohan Roy.

The letter which Ram Mohan wrote to Lord Amherst in 1824 is worth quoting. Lord Amherst was then Governor-General, and the occasion of the letter was the action of the recently-appointed committee on general education in setting up a new Sanskrit College in Calcutta. The letter greatly impressed Bishop Heber, through whom it was sent to Lord Amherst, and he described it as one " which for its good English, good sense and forcible argu-

ments, is a real curiosity as coming from an Asiatic." That single remark is a token of the changes which a hundred years have wrought both in India and even more in Englishmen's estimation of Indians.

Here is the letter, which, after a polite preamble—"To His Excellency the Right Honourable Lord Amherst, Governor-General in Council"—refers to the establishment of the new Sanskrit College in Calcutta, and continues :

> When this seminary of learning was proposed, we understood that the Government in England had ordered a considerable sum of money to be annually devoted to the instruction of its Indian subjects. We were filled with sanguine hopes that this sum would be laid out in employing European gentlemen of talents and education to instruct the natives of India in mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, and other useful sciences, which the nations of Europe have carried to a degree of perfection that has raised them above the inhabitants of other parts of the world. While we looked forward with pleasing hope to the dawn of knowledge then promised to the rising generation, our hearts were filled with mingled feelings of delight and gratitude. . . .
>
> We find that the Government are establishing a Sanskrit school under Hindu pundits, to impart such knowledge as is already current in India. This seminary (similar in character to those which existed in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon) can only be expected to load the minds of youth with grammatical niceties and metaphysical distinctions of little or no practical use to the possessors or to society. The pupils will there acquire what was known two thousand years ago, with the addition of vain and empty subtilties since produced by speculative men, such as is already commonly taught in all parts of India.

The writer then dilates at length and in detail

upon the futilities, in his view, of Sanskrit scholarship, and continues:

In order to enable your Lordship to appreciate the utility of encouraging such imaginary learning as above characterized, I beg your Lordship will be pleased to compare the state of science and literature in Europe before the time of Lord Bacon with the progress made since he wrote.

If it had been intended to keep the British nation in ignorance of real knowledge, the Baconian philosophy would not have been allowed to displace the system of the schoolmen, which was the best calculated to perpetuate ignorance. In the same manner the Sanskrit system of education would be the best calculated to keep this country in darkness, if such had been the policy of the British legislature. But as the improvement of the native population is the object of the Government, it will consequently promote a more liberal and enlightened system of instruction; embracing mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, with other useful sciences, which may be accomplished with the sum proposed by employing a few gentlemen of talents and learning educated in Europe, and providing a college furnished with necessary books, instruments and other apparatus. . . .

I have the honour, etc.,

(Signed) Ram Mohan Roy.[1]

The memorial had no effect. It was not even answered.

During the years immediately preceding the great decision of 1835 the contest grew hotter. Rich Indians themselves began to erect schools, taught mainly by young men from the Hindu College, in which English learning was given. Duff showed in these years what could be done by a foreigner, working without official support and on definitely

[1] Trevelyan, pp. 65-71.

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and avowedly Christian lines. The excitement caused by the success of his institution had, as we have seen already, penetrated to all parts of Calcutta and he was himself by word and pen an unceasing advocate of the principles of education in which he believed.

Eventually there came a deadlock, and the necessity for a decision by Government. The education committee came to be divided into two equally balanced parties. The continued pressure of the Anglicists in Calcutta, and the growing uneasiness of the Court of Directors of the Company at home, found expression in five members of the committee, of whom C. E. Trevelyan (later Sir Charles) was the most famous. The Orientalists numbered also five, including the two brothers Prinsep, renowned oriental scholars, and W. H. Macnaughtan, said to be the finest scholar in both the vernacular and the classical languages of India that ever left Fort William. The central issue on which they were divided cropped up everywhere. It could not be isolated, for it dominated all questions of educational policy. Eventually they laid their division before Government, leaving it to the higher power to resolve the deadlock.

At this point we encounter the brilliant personality of Thomas Babington, later Lord Macaulay. Perhaps too much has been made of Macaulay's part in these fateful proceedings. References to the dispute and the decision often appear to suggest that his share in moulding the policy of Government was much greater than in fact it was. Nevertheless, his appearance was timely and his gifts admirably adapted to the work he had to do, and when such a

conjuncture takes place, it is natural if a man gets credit for more than his share of what is actually brought to pass.

The occasion of Macaulay's coming to India was this. In 1832 the famous Reform Act passed through Parliament. In the following year the East India Company's charter was renewed with these important changes, that all restrictions on the residence of missionaries in India were abolished, and the Governor-General's Executive Council was enlarged by the addition of a Law Member. Further a commission was appointed to draw up a penal code for India. Macaulay had taken a prominent part in the Reform Bill discussions, and was made both a member of the commission, and also Law Member of the Executive Council. He came out to India in 1834, arriving in September just as Duff had been compelled by ill-health to leave.

Macaulay was very shortly appointed chairman of the education committee, in which, as we have seen, complete deadlock had been achieved. The main point at issue had been laid before Government, and Macaulay refused to take up the chairmanship until Government had expressed its mind on the vital question. To Macaulay as Law Member of Council fell the duty of deciding whether Government could legally apply to English education the annual grant ordered in 1813 and hitherto devoted to oriental studies. He gave his decision in the famous document known since as "Macaulay's Minute," from which we quote some typical passages.

All parties seem to be agreed on one point, that the dialects commonly spoken among the natives of this part of India contain neither literary nor scientific

information, and are, moreover, so poor and rude that, until they are enriched from some other quarter, it will not be easy to translate any valuable work into them. It seems to be admitted on all sides that the intellectual improvement of those classes of the people who have the means of pursuing higher studies can at present be effected only by means of some language not vernacular amongst them.

What then shall that language be? . . . I have no knowledge of either Sanskrit or Arabic. . . . I am quite ready to take the oriental learning at the valuation of the Orientalists themselves. I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia.

. . . [The English language] stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the West. It abounds with works of imagination not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed to us—in the models of every species of eloquence—with historical compositions which, considered merely as narratives, have seldom been surpassed, and which, considered as vehicles of ethical and political instruction, have never been equalled—with just and lively representations of human life and human nature—with the most profound speculations on metaphysics, morals, government, jurisprudence, trade—with full and correct information respecting every experimental science which tends to preserve the health, to increase the comfort, or to expand the intellect of man. Whoever knows that language has ready access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations.

. . . The question now before us is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this language, we shall teach languages in which, by universal confession, there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own . . . whether we shall countenance at the public expense, medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier, astronomy which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding-school, history abounding with kings thirty feet high

and reigns thirty thousand years long, and geography made of seas of treacle and seas of butter.

. . . Had our ancestors acted as the Committee of Public Instruction has hitherto acted—had they neglected the language of Thucydides and Plato, and the language of Cicero and Tacitus—had they confined their attention to the old dialects of our own island—had they printed nothing and taught nothing at the universities but chronicles in Anglo-Saxon and romances in Norman French—would England ever have been what she now is? What the Greek and Latin were to the contemporaries of More and Ascham, our tongue is to the people of India. . . .

The Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, took action. Of the Resolution of Government dated March 7th, 1835, Sir Charles Trevelyan prophesied that "although homely in its words, it will be mighty in its effects long after we are mouldering in the dust." [1] Briefly the Resolution stated: that the great object of the British Government in India ought to be the promotion of European literature and science and that, although no institutions of oriental learning for which a demand still existed should be closed, the system of subsidizing students in these schools and colleges should be discontinued, public expenditure on the printing of oriental books be immediately stopped and the number of professors of oriental studies gradually reduced. The funds thus released were to be henceforth employed in promoting modern European education through the medium of the English language.

This justly memorable Resolution gave legislative sanction to the plan which Duff and Trevelyan (who became great friends) in their respective spheres had urged, and which Duff had already tested by

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

the touchstone of experience. One does not wish to claim too much for Duff, any more than for Macaulay, but there can be little doubt that his work and his arguments were a most important factor in determining the issue.

It is in connection with the establishment of a medical college in Calcutta on Western lines that Duff's influence is perhaps most clearly seen. Medical training existed in two forms at this time in Calcutta. At the Sanskrit and Arabic Colleges classes were held in medicine, where, says Trevelyan, "the systems of Galen and Hippocrates,[1] and of the Shastras, with the addition of a few scraps of European medical science, were taught." [2] There was also a medical institution begun by Government in 1822 where, through the medium of Hindustani, a smattering of Western medical science was given, dissection of the lower animals practised, and where a few tracts printed in Hindustani were the total medical library of the students. Lord William Bentinck conceived the plan of raising up in India a medical profession trained in modern medicine, and a commission was appointed to enquire into the possibility of the scheme. The great obstacle was the prohibition, real or supposed, of the Hindu Shastras, against touching a dead body for anatomical purposes. It was confidently held by the Orientalists that dissection would never be practised by Hindus, and that it was useless to contemplate it. No one held this more strongly than the head of the Government medical institution. It appears from the evidence of Trevelyan and others that it was Duff

[1] The most famous of the ancient Greek physicians.

[2] Trevelyan, p. 27.

who turned the scale. The commission visited his college, and interviewed his students as well as himself. The students stated with great candour that while it might be true that the Shastras forbade the touching of a dead body, they had so far imbibed a new point of view in their European studies that they regarded such prohibition with indifference, and that if on other grounds they desired to take up the medical profession, they would not be deterred by the scruples of religious traditionalism. Duff himself "to whom," says Trevelyan, "the cause of sound learning and true religion in the East is deeply indebted," reiterated with much force before the commission his view that Indian students could learn all that Europeans could learn through the medium of English, and that whatever could be said for the teaching of the humanities through the Indian classical tongues, nothing whatever was to be said for so teaching science. Lord William Bentinck further consulted orthodox Hindu pundits, who stated that while the Shastras forbade the touching of a dead body, there was no specific prohibition of touching it for anatomical purposes.

In June 1835 the new Medical College in Calcutta was opened. It is now perhaps the largest in the world, and it is not too much to say that in great measure it owes its inception to Duff, "to whom," said the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab in 1899 at the Lahore Medical College, "we are indebted, because he was the pioneer in the efforts to show that the medical profession was compatible with the highest ideas of caste."

## CHAPTER VII

### BACK IN SCOTLAND

### 1834–1839

Duff's educational policy, conceived at the very outset of his missionary career, naturally bulks most largely in the record of those first years in India, but before he went on furlough in 1834 he had filled his days with many other interests. He gave powerful aid to a scheme for the publication of a Hindustani-English dictionary in the Roman character, believing that the adoption of a simplified script would greatly further the cause of popular education. Here as in other ways he displayed his deep conviction of the transcendent importance of vernacular education. The enthusiasm he displayed for English higher education has often given rise to the idea that Duff cared little for the vernacular. The opposite was the case. Now and always he worked for the wide establishment of vernacular primary schools.

In 1832, along with a small group of friends drawn from different denominations, he published the first number of the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, a journal devoted partly to the exposition of Christian ideas and partly to the reviewing of current literature and events in the light of the Christian ideal. As if this were not enough to occupy such energy as he could spare from the engrossing work of his

school and college he accepted, though under protest, the pastoral care of the Scottish congregation of St Andrew's left vacant by the departure of the chaplain for Scotland. Here his eloquence gained him fresh renown among the European population and, along with the famous Daniel Wilson who came out as bishop in 1832, he became a powerful influence for good in Calcutta life.

The pace at which he had worked now began to tell its tale, and from 1833 onwards he was increasingly the victim of fever. The trouble began with the great cyclone of that year, which swept a tidal flood over the low-lying lands of Bengal, to be succeeded in the cold season by malaria and pestilence. Duff, already enfeebled by prolonged overwork, went on the fifty-mile journey to Takee to visit the school there. On his return he was prostrated by jungle fever, and was only restored for a time by a holiday among the healthy breezes of the Sandheads. Again in the following year he took the same journey in the hot season, and this time he was laid low with dysentery so that for a time his friends despaired of his life. He was assiduously tended by one of the most remarkable of his friends, Anthony Groves, a Devonshire doctor who had become a missionary in Bagdad and later attached himself to Duff. This man watched over him day and night. Eventually when Duff was fit to be moved, the doctors united in an absolute command to him to return to Scotland for rest and the recovery of his strength.

As a pendant to these five years of intense activity, we may take an incident which happened on the last day before dysentery cut short his work. He

had shown his institution to Groves, and left him with the senior class, who astonished him by their knowledge of the Bible, their familiarity with Christian ideas, and their obvious grasp and understanding of what they had learned. Groves turned to Duff and confessed that though previously hostile to educational missionary work he was now a convert, and expressed his amazement at the results achieved by Duff in a totally new field and in so short a time. Duff replied by opening the door into the large hall where the smallest children were learning the alphabet "There," he said, "is the explanation. Well do I remember how I would have loathed such employment, not only as insufferably dull, but as beneath the dignity of the clerical office. But on the principle of becoming all things to all men and new things in new circumstances, there four years ago did I teach A B C. And you have seen some of the fruits. Was it not worth while to begin so low in order to end so high ?" [1]

They had indeed been five amazing years. Duff had seen a new missionary method adopted with triumphant success, he had been no mean factor in a development of government policy second in importance to none in the history of British rule—and he was still only twenty-eight years of age.

The family sailed from Calcutta in the *John M'Lellan* in July 1834. On the very day they reached the ship a son was born to them, and it is recorded by his wife that Duff's grief at having to leave India, even for a time, was so intense that they took his baby boy to him to comfort him. Fortunately the rigours of the outward voyage were

[1] Smith, Vol. I. p. 268.

not repeated, and after five months of sea breezes, with a short stay at Cape Town, they arrived at the Firth of Clyde on Christmas Day.

Duff had been ordered home as an invalid for rest and convalescence. But he now entered upon a period of labour not less arduous than that which lay behind him, for, to his astonishment, he found that scarcely anyone was interested in the tale he came from India on fire to tell. It was the time of the general election under the Reform Act, and political interests engrossed all the ablest men to the exclusion of practically everything else. Church leaders he found more concerned with the political strengthening of the Establishment than with India. There were exceptions—Chalmers was one, and certain ministers invited the missionary to speak in their churches about his work—but in the main Duff found that the Church which had sent him out was not interested in what had been done.

There is an amazing story of the first meeting he had with the Foreign Mission Committee. Duff had previously given some account of his work to a meeting in a private house in Edinburgh. He had expected to meet only a small group of friends, but a considerable company assembled to hear him, and went away enthusiastic. Shortly afterwards he received a summons to meet the Committee, and was delighted to have now at last an opportunity to give an account of his stewardship. What was his astonishment to hear, instead, a dignified rebuke from the chairman for the irregular meeting he was reported to have held! However, Duff was equal to the situation, and explained with candour and

firmness to the assembled brethren that while he would gladly put first any work they might enjoin him to do in Scotland, he was to have liberty to choose his own ways of promoting the missionary cause. "Having so spoken, he sat down. Instantly, all present, without any one of them uttering a word, went out precipitately, leaving Duff and the convener alone in the middle of the floor to look at each other in a sort of dumb amazement. 'Perhaps,' said the former with great calmness, 'we have had enough of the subject for this day.'" [1]

Indeed it was plain that the interest of the Church as a whole was less than it had been ten years before, when the first general collection of funds for the India Mission had been authorized. Duff realized that the continuance, to say nothing of the development, of the Indian enterprise was threatened if the Church of Scotland could not be instructed with knowledge and imbued with enthusiasm. Accordingly, he set himself to his task, in spite of recurring fever and the advice and entreaties of his doctor and friends. It was not difficult to form a plan, for the Presbyterian system of church government provides a representative body, the Assembly, which may be and sometimes is conservative and even reactionary, but which is truly representative; so that if it is captured and convinced the results are manifest in every congregation in the land.[2] The Church throughout the country

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 229-279.

[2] For the sake of those who are not conversant with Presbyterian church government, the following note may be helpful:

*Session.*—The Ecclesiastical Court forming the governing body of

would be roused if the General Assembly were set on fire. This was Duff's immediate objective, the first and most vital step in his campaign at home.

Duff's first speech to the Assembly, made in May 1835, may seem a minor incident when regarded in the retrospect of time, merely an enthusiastic speech received enthusiastically as so many speeches have been before and since, but Duff's achievement was more than this. The Assembly is not a body meeting for the purposes of propaganda or demonstration: it is the supreme legislative body of the Church, meeting to make decisions and enjoin actions, and in the year 1835 it was cumbered with many domestic cares in regard to matters both in Church and in State. The India Mission was little thought of. It had its few partisans, but no more than a formal report was expected or provided for when the business of the day was set out. On this report Duff had to speak. He was ill at the time, and it seemed as if after a few sentences he would have to sit down, but he conquered his physical

a single Presbyterian congregation, composed of the minister and a number of "elders."

*Presbytery.*—An Ecclesiastical court composed of the ministers and representative "elders" of several Presbyterian congregations in the same district.

*Synod.*—A group of Presbyteries meeting as an Ecclesiastical court, not now of much importance.

*General Assembly.*—The supreme Ecclesiastical Court of the Presbyterian Church, which meets annually. Its nearest Anglican analogy is Convocation, but the functions and powers of the two bodies differ in many important respects. In Assembly clergy and laity ("elders") meet together in one house.

*Moderator.*—The presiding member of the Assembly. The Moderator is elected annually for each successive Assembly; the office is considered to be the highest honour the Presbyterian Church can confer on any of its ministers.

weakness and delivered himself of an address which was long memorable in Scotland.

The speech was a passionate defence of the educational policy and method which had been adopted in Bengal. Duff began by referring to the older methods of disputations with the Brahmins, and the inevitable impasse that is created when two persons who live in entirely different intellectual worlds try to convince one another. He showed how the teaching of almost any portion of the body of modern knowledge must conflict with and, if accepted, demolish some part of the Hindu scheme of life and thought.

> A course of instruction that professes to convey truth of any kind thus becomes a species of religious education in India—all education being there regarded as religious or theological. It is this that gives to the dissemination of mere human knowledge, in the present state of India, such awful importance.

Moreover, he went on, only Indians could effectively preach to Indians, as who should understand more keenly than the Highlanders in the audience before him, with their love for their Gaelic tongue ?

> Oh, there is that in the tones of a foreigner's voice which falls cold and heavy on the ear of a native, and seldom reaches the heart !—whereas, there is something in the genuine tones of a countryman's voice, which, operating as a charm, falls pleasantly on the ear, and comes home to the feelings, and touches the heart, and causes its tenderest chords to vibrate. . . . The comparative inefficiency of European agency . . . and the necessity of having recourse to native agents in the work is suggested with a potency that is resistless. They can withstand that blazing sun, they can bear exposure to that unkindly atmosphere, they can locate themselves amid the hamlets and the villages, they can hold inter-

course with their countrymen in ways and modes we never can. And having the thousand advantages besides of knowing the feelings, the sentiments, the traditions, the associations, the habits, the manners, the customs, the trains of thought and principles of reasoning among the people, they can strike in with arguments, and objections, illustrations and imagery which we could never, never have conceived.

After a graphic account of his own student friends who had become Christians, he went on to advance the view that merely to spread Western education, divorced from religion of any kind, is purely destructive in its effects, and must necessarily produce a generation of educated men in whom the foundations of good life have been destroyed and who will be the prey of all manner of anarchic and pernicious ideas. The only true and wise policy lay in linking Western education with constructive Christian teaching.

The peroration of this speech is a good example of Duff's style as a speaker. He was prolix as were even the greatest masters of English rhetoric of that day, such as Fox and Pitt, but the passion and eloquence of his utterance were irresistible.

Whenever we make an appeal on behalf of the heathen, it is constantly urged that there are enough of heathen at home—that there is enough of work to be done at home, and why roam for more in distant lands? I strongly suspect that those who are most clamorous in advancing this plea are just the very men who do little, and care less, either for heathen at home or for heathen at a distance. At all events, it is a plea far more worthy of a heathen than of a Christian. It was not thus that the Apostles argued. If it were, they never would have crossed the walls of Jerusalem. There they would have remained contending with unbelieving Jews, till caught by the flames that reduced to ashes the city of their

fathers. And if we act on such a plea we may be charged with despising the example of the Apostles, and found loitering at home till overtaken by the flames of the final conflagration. But shall it be brooked, that those who in this Assembly have so far succeeded to their office, should act so contrary a part? Let us pronounce this impossible. I for one can see no contrariety between home and foreign labour. . . .

I know the Highlands, they are dear to me. They form the cradle and the grave of my fathers; they are the nursery of my youthful imaginings; and there is not a lake, or barren heath, or granite peak that is not dear to me. How much more dear the precious souls of those who tenant these romantic regions! Still, though a son of the Highlands, I must, in my higher capacity as a disciple of Jesus, be permitted to put the question, Has not inspiration declared that "the field is the world"? And would you keep your spiritual sympathies pent up within the craggy ramparts of the Grampians? Would you have them enchained within the wild and rocky shores of this distant isle? "The field is the world." And the more we are like God—the more we reflect His image, the more our nature is assimilated to the Divine—the more nearly will we view the world as God has done. "True friendship," it has been said, "has no localities." And so it is with the love of God in Christ. The sacrifice on Calvary was designed to embrace the globe in its amplitude. Let us view the subject as God views it—let us view it as denizens of the universe—and we shall not be bounded in our efforts of philanthropy, short of the north or south pole. Wherever there is a human being, there must our sympathies extend. . . .

Ah! long, too long has India been made a theme for the visions of poetry and the dreams of romance. Too long has it been enshrined in the sparkling bubbles of a vapoury sentimentalism. One's heart is indeed sickened with the eternal song of its balmy skies and voluptuous gales, its golden dews and pageantry of blossoms, its

*fields of paradise and bowers,*
*Entwining amaranthine flowers,*

its blaze of suns, and torrents of eternal light: one's heart is sickened with this eternal song, when above, we behold nought but the spiritual gloom of a gathering tempest, relieved only by the lightning glance of the Almighty's indignation—around, a waste moral wilderness, where "all life dies, and death lives"—and underneath, one vast catacomb of immortal souls perishing for lack of knowledge. Let us arise, and resolve that henceforward these "climes of the sun" shall not be viewed merely as a storehouse of flowers for poetry, and figures for rhetoric, and bold strokes for oratory; but shall become the climes of a better sun—even the "Sun of righteousness"; the nursery of "plants of renown" that shall bloom and blossom in the regions of immortality. Let us arise and revive the genius of the olden time: let us revive the spirit of our forefathers. Like them, let us unsheathe the sword of the Spirit, unfurl the banners of the Cross, sound the gospel-trump of jubilee. Like them, let us enter into a Solemn League and Covenant before our God, in behalf of that benighted land, that we will not rest till the voice of praise and thanksgiving arise, in daily orisons, from its coral strands, roll over its fertile plains, resound from its smiling valleys, and re-echo from its everlasting hills. Thus shall it be proved, that the Church of Scotland though "poor, can make many rich," being herself replenished from the "fulness of the Godhead": that the Church of Scotland, though powerless as regards carnal designs and worldly policies, has yet the divine power of bringing many sons to glory; of calling a spiritual progeny from afar, numerous as the drops of dew in the morning, and resplendent with the shining of the Sun of righteousness—a noble company of ransomed multitudes, that shall hail you in the realms of day, and crown you with the spoils of victory, and sit on thrones, and live and reign with you, amid the splendours of an unclouded universe.

May God hasten the day, and put it into the heart of every one present to engage in the glorious work of realizing it![1]

[1] For full report of the speech, see *Calcutta Mission, Church of Scotland*, 1826-46.

The effect of this speech on the Assembly was profound; emotions were deeply stirred, and not the mind only but the imagination and feeling of the audience were captured. It was ordered that twenty thousand copies of the speech should be printed and distributed, so that it found its way not only into all parts of Scotland but to England, America, and the Continent. The Assembly moreover took the practical step of resolving that all Presbyteries should invite Duff to address them, and Duff therefore had now the field before him and could, with the enthusiastic backing of the Church authorities, undertake the task of instruction and organization.

The chief obstacle with which he was met was the fruit of his own popularity—a series of appeals to accept Church livings in Scotland. He never gave a thought to any of them, not even to the appeal that was most earnestly pressed, and which alone was urged on grounds that he could respect, the invitation from the Earl of Fife to become the minister of Marnoch, in the Duff country. Marnoch was the scene of one of those incidents which brought about the Disruption of the Church of Scotland on the issue of the spiritual independence of the Church. The Earl had promised the reversion of the living to an ex-school teacher, whom the congregation would not tolerate. It was in the belief that all parties would unite in acclaiming Duff, that the patron would be relieved from his promise, and that thus a painful clash between patron and congregation would be avoided, that Duff was begged to accept. He was as well aware as anyone of the impending troubles which were to gather to a head

round this patronage issue, but it never seemed to him even plausible that he should forsake Bengal on this account. Duff, as we shall see later, was a keen supporter of the principles upon which in 1843 the Free Church separated itself from the Establishment, but he was in no sense a party man. He was determined that the India Mission should not become involved in the conflict in Scotland between "moderate" and "evangelical," and he took every opportunity of making plain to all that in his view foreign missions were of no party.

The full scope of Duff's ambition for the home propaganda of foreign missions was not to be shown till later, but he had already given much thought to the organization which should be brought into being in Scotland to support the India Mission. His plan was to found a missionary association in each Presbytery to spread information, collect money, and form a centre round which interest and enthusiasm might gather. So he set out, his health to some extent recruited by a period of rest with his family near Pitlochry, on a tour of the Presbyteries. By the end of the year he had been all over the east and north of Scotland, everywhere awakening enthusiasm and showing himself not merely the able expounder of a sound policy and method, but endowed with the power of recalling all those who heard and met him to a sense of the deepest religious issues. To those who are familiar with the careful organization of the modern missionary movement in Britain and America, these endeavours of Duff may seem somewhat ordinary, but it is to be remembered that he was doing something which in Scotland at least, and to a large extent in other

countries, was absolutely new and that this task of pioneer missionary organization was being undertaken by a man in bad health, racked continually by the returning jungle fever.

At Aberdeen the University bestowed on him the degree of Doctor of Divinity, an unusual honour for a man under thirty. Honours of other kinds were pressed upon him. His reputation as a speaker was now widespread, and after his vast presbyterial campaign he was invited to London to address some of the great missionary meetings, which he did with no less effect than when he was speaking to his own countrymen. While in England he paid a visit to Cambridge at the invitation of Carus, one of the fellows of Trinity, and there met the aged Simeon, whose influence had indirectly touched his own early boyhood.

In the Scottish Universities, in Cambridge and wherever he went, Duff had an interest even deeper than that of creating an efficient organization in Scotland to support the Mission. Most of all he cared about the raising up of other men to go abroad and take a share in the work to which he had given himself. The sphere to which he could invite them was now growing, for besides Calcutta for which more workers than himself and Mackay and Ewart were needed, the work begun by the Scottish Missionary Society [1] in Bombay was now merged in that of the Assembly, and a college on the lines of Duff's was projected for South India, destined to grow into what is perhaps the most famous of all missionary colleges, the Madras Christian College.

[1] Originally founded in Edinburgh in 1796 as an interdenominational society; taken over by the Church of Scotland in 1835.

He secured some able men. Macdonald, a Presbyterian minister in London, resigned his charge and went to Calcutta. Anderson, a distinguished Edinburgh graduate, went to Madras to begin the college there, and was joined a little later by Johnston and Braidwood, also Edinburgh men. Murray Mitchell went from Aberdeen to Bombay, and another Edinburgh man, Thomas Smith, to Calcutta. All these men found their way abroad under the stimulus of the spoken or written appeals of Alexander Duff. In this first furlough of his practically the whole scheme of the missions of the Church of Scotland in India was laid down, and his ambition for the cause was shown at least as much in the quality of the men he sought as in the range of his plans.

Duff was particularly impatient of the people, many of them prominent in Church life, who spoke eloquently of the missionary need but never appeared to consider the question of going abroad themselves to take up the work they so admired. Some of his speeches were almost unfair on this point: certainly they must have been most unpalatable to his hearers. Addressing a great meeting in Exeter Hall, London, in May 1837, where several distinguished ecclesiastics had spoken before him, he said:

> Hark! here are a few blasts from a trumpet that has often pealed, and pealed with effect, at our great anniversaries. The missionary's life? Ah! "an archangel would come down from the throne, if he might, and feel himself honoured to give up the felicities of heaven for a season for the toils of a missionary's life." The missionary's work? Ah! "the work of a minister at home, as compared with that of a missionary, is but the lighting of a parish lamp, to the causing the sun to

rise upon an empire that is yet in darkness." The missionary's grave? Ah! "the missionary's grave is far more honourable than the minister's pulpit!" After such outpourings of fervent zeal and burning admiration of valour, would ye not expect that the limits of a kingdom were too circumscribed for the range of spirits so chivalrous? Would ye not expect that intervening oceans and continents could oppose no barrier to their resistless career? Would ye not expect that, as chieftains at the head of a noble army, numerous as the phalanxes that erewhile flew from tilt and tournament to glitter in the sunshine of the Holy Land, they should no more be heard of till they make known their presence, by the terror of their power, in shattering to atoms the powerful walls of China, and hoisting in triumph the banners of the Cross over the captured mosques of Araby and prostrate pagodas of India? Alas, alas! what shall we say, when the thunder of heroism that reverberates so sublimely over our heads from year to year in Exeter Hall, is found, in changeless succession, to die away in fainter and yet fainter echoes among the luxurious mansions, the snug dwellings, and goodly parsonages of Old England![1]

Passages like these (the rhetoric was intentionally heightened to be in the Exeter Hall key!) are important for the understanding of Duff. He did not object to sentiment, for his own speaking was highly emotional; but he had a moral loathing of sentimental enthusiasm which was not absolutely sincere. He could paint word-pictures of India with the best, but he knew what India was like and had borne suffering for her in his own mind and body. Nothing incensed him so greatly as the attempt to make India, or the cause of Indian evangelization, the text of mere eloquence. With all his exuberant Celtic imaginative and passionate temperament, he had a streak of realism in his

[1] Reprinted in *The Calcutta Mission, Church of Scotland*, 1826-46.

nature which brings him nearer to our minds than other great religious speakers of his day.

But the strength of Duff's appeal to his countrymen, in these memorable years of his first furlough, lay in his manifest single-hearted absorption in the service of Jesus, his Lord. He was never so much at home as when speaking of Him, and he founded the missionary movement in Scotland broad and deep in men's consciousness of the love of Christ. The educational policy he had created he could defend with skill and cogency, but he carried it triumphantly even with those who would, from their training and prejudices, have decried it as "secular," by his unconcealed devotion to his Master.

At the General Assembly of 1837 he met and removed some misconceptions of his work which had been created by his 1835 speech. A paragraph of his address on this occasion illustrates the view he held and consistently promulgated all his life.

> Let it, then, ever be our distinguishing glory to arbitrate between the advocates of untenable extremes. Let us, on the one hand, disown the bigotry of an unwise pietism, by resolving to patronize to the utmost, as in times past, the cause of sound literature and science—lest, by our negligence in this respect we help to revive the fatal dogma of the dark ages, that what is philosophically sound may yet be allowed to be theologically false. And let us, on the other hand, denounce the bigotry of infidelity, or religious indifference, by resolving to uphold the paramount importance of the sacred oracles, in the great work of Christianizing and civilizing a guilty world. Let us thus hail true literature and true science as our very best auxiliaries—whether in Scotland, or in India, or in any other quarter of the habitable globe.[1]

[1] *Ibid.*

In activities of this kind, speaking, organizing, taking every opportunity that came to him of helping on any enterprise for the good of India, lecturing on India, and inspiring new recruits, Duff spent two more years. His lectures were gathered together in a volume bearing the inclusive title: *India and India Missions: including Sketches of the Gigantic System of Hinduism both in Theory and Practice.* We shall have occasion to refer to it again.

In 1839 the missionary, now restored to full vigour and health, bade farewell to the General Assembly. Efforts were made to get him to accept some token of honour, but he loathed farewell banquets, and would only consent to the painting of his portrait. "But," he said, "hold a religious service and ask Dr Chalmers to give me his fatherly counsel and admonition."[1] In St George's, Edinburgh, this farewell service was held. Duff preached his own farewell sermon in Moulin Parish Kirk. The services in Gaelic and English lasted five hours, and the Church was crowded with country people from the valley and hill-sides of Athole.

A few days later Dr and Mrs Duff said good-bye to their four children (the youngest a little boy only a few months old), leaving them with a kindly "widow-lady" living in Edinburgh, and set sail once more for India.

[1] Smith, Vol. I. p. 283.

## CHAPTER VIII

### A GROWING WORK

### 1840–1843

THE second voyage to India made by Dr and Mrs Duff was not round the Cape, but by the newly-opened overland route, by steamer to Alexandria and then from Suez to Bombay. Leaving Scotland in the autumn of 1839 they made for Marseilles by Brussels and Paris; thence by steamer to Syra, where they joined the mail-boat from Constantinople to Alexandria.

Muhammad Ali, at that time Pasha of Egypt, was on the most friendly terms with Colonel Campbell, the retiring Consul-General, and had made him a grant of land in the great square of Alexandria, knowing that he desired to build a Protestant church on the site, although he could not formally give him permission to do so. The day when the foundation-stone was to be laid, December 14th, found Duff in Alexandria. Muhammad proposed to send his chief officers of state to be present at the ceremony, and Campbell, fearing to arouse Moslem hostility, had not planned to have any religious ceremony in connection with the laying of the stone. Duff however convinced him that his fears were groundless, and that it would appear far more natural to the Mohammedan spectators that the setting apart of the site of a church should

be accompanied by prayer to God. Acordingly Duff, aided by an Anglican clergyman named Grimshaw, solemnly consecrated the site with the reading of Scripture and prayer. "It was quite remarkable," Duff wrote in describing the scene, "to note the stillness, respectfulness and earnestness with which the whole mass of surrounding Mussulmans, only a few of whom could understand English, listened to the prayers, the reading and addresses and then quietly dispersed." [1]

The travellers had about a month to wait at Suez for a passage to Bombay, which Duff purposed to visit in order to confer with Wilson and the other Scottish missionaries, who were encountering after the baptism of two Parsi converts something of the same storm that had raged round him in Calcutta.

Leaving his companions at Cairo, Duff went on alone with an escort to visit the range and Mount of Sinai. No scientific survey of the Sinai region had at that time been accomplished, but then, as now, it was popularly supposed that Jebel Musa, a sharply-rising and majestic peak, was the Sinai of Scripture. The rocky mountain wilderness greatly moved Duff's spirit. Like Carlyle, of whom his son declares he was a great admirer, he responded to the appeal of barren solitudes, and during these days he followed eagerly in the traditional footsteps of Israel, read aloud over and over again from the summit of Jebel Musa the Ten Commandments, and as he gazed round about him revolved in his mind thoughts of the sinfulness of men and the righteousness of God. Duff's religious nature was

[1] Smith, Vol. I. p. 396.

a complex thing, and we shall notice again and again the catholicity of the sources from which he derived spiritual inspiration, but it is plain that the Old Testament conception of the majesty of God lay deep in his soul.

Sailing from Suez they reached Bombay in February 1840, and there Duff spent a month in conference with Wilson, Nesbit and Murray Mitchell, giving the latest news of Scottish affairs, and comparing their work in Bombay and Poona with his own in Bengal. There was no way from Bombay to Calcutta but by sea round Cape Comorin and the south of Ceylon, and by this route accordingly they went, keeping close to the coast. They spent long enough in Madras to enable Duff to visit the institution (the fore-runner of the Madras Christian College) which Anderson, the first Church of Scotland missionary there, had recently established, and to address the students with an energy and power which, Anderson said, they could never forget.

Calcutta in 1840 showed the effects of the ten years that had passed since Duff's arrival, and especially of the educational policy which he had initiated and the Government had taken up. He remarks with pleasure that almost the first thing he saw on landing was a signboard with the legend "Ram Lochun Sen & Co., Surgeons and Druggists." Here was a token of the practical success of his campaign for medical education.

> When I gazed at the humble, yet significant, type and visible symbol before me of so triumphant a conquest over one of the most inveterate of Hindu prejudices—a conquest issuing in such beneficial practical results—how could I help rejoicing in spirit at the reflection that,

under Divine providence, the singular success of your Institution was overruled as one of the main instruments in achieving it ?[1]

And again:

After passing the Medical College itself, the next novel object which in point of fact happened to attract my attention as I approached Cornwallis Square was a handsome Christian church, with its gothic tower and buttresses, and contiguous manse or parsonage. And who was the first ordained pastor thereof ? The Rev. Krishna Mohan Banerjea, once a Koolin Brahmin of the highest caste ; then, through the scheme of Government education, an educated atheist and editor of the *Enquirer* newspaper ; next brought to a saving knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus, and admitted into the Christian Church by baptism . . . ; and, last of all, ordained as a minister of the everlasting Gospel by the Bishop of Calcutta, and now appointed to discharge the evangelical and pastoral duties of the new Christian temple which was erected for himself ! What a train of pleasing reflection was the first view of this edifice calculated to awaken ![2]

He saw too, the most welcome sight of all, the new Institution and Mission House of the Church of Scotland in Cornwallis Square ; and he could reflect that ten years ago it was a matter for doubt whether any Hindus would come to the college at all, whereas now six or seven hundred welcomed him with every sign of gladness. He found, too, that though

the scheme was not merely ridiculed as chimerical by the worldly-minded, but as unmissionary, if not unchristian, in its principles and tendencies, by the pious conductors of other evangelizing measures ; now, the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 443.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 443, 444.

missionaries of all denominations resident in Calcutta not only approve of the scope, design and texture of the scheme, but have for many years been strenuously and not unsuccessfully attempting to imitate it to the utmost extent of the means at their disposal. . . . The main argument employed by them, in writing to, and expostulating with, their home committees, has been an appeal to the model example and palpable success of our Institution.[1]

It is not given to many men to see an experiment so quickly and so thoroughly justified, and it is with a very humble pride that Duff dwells on these triumphs. He was never by temperament inclined to rest on his oars, and as soon as he had returned he devoted himself to the better organization of the college. He had now four colleagues, and a missionary council was formed to carry on the work in correspondence with the Church at home. On his furlough Duff, like all keen educationists, had learnt all he could of new educational movements and acquired new apparatus. This knowledge he proceeded to apply to his own educational work, and in particular he addressed himself to the training of Indian teachers, his greatest need. At that time not a single training college for teachers existed in India, and Duff's teachers not only greatly increased the efficiency of his own school and college, but found their way, in answer to urgent entreaties, to all parts of India and even to Burma.

As in his first period of service, Duff was not content with keeping his college to a high level and infusing into it as much of the Christian spirit and teaching as possible, but found additional ways of making his mission a reality. It will be recollected

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 448, 449.

how powerfully in 1831-34 his lectures and debates had contributed to the intellectual and spiritual awakening that began at that time. He now started three lines of activity outside his college work. He opened a Sunday class for Bengali clerks, men who were occupied in their work all the week, but who not infrequently came to him and to other missionaries as enquirers. For students who had left college but were willing to keep in touch with him he began a weekly lecture and discussion in his house, when masterpieces of literature were read, as for instance Guizot's *History of Civilization.* There were also older men who had finished their studies about the time of Duff's arrival in Calcutta, men of the generation of Krishna Mohan Banerjea, who wished to carry on the investigations that had been begun in those earlier lectures. For these Duff gave every week a lecture of an apologetic type, outlining the philosophical and theological groundwork of Christianity. Duff, like his great predecessor Carey, had, though in different directions, the power of prodigious and efficient labour, and it is easier to recount the channels of his activity than to realize the toil of body and spirit involved.

In another direction Duff showed his extraordinary grasp of the essential factors in the Indian world of his day. It is one of his claims to fame that throughout his whole career he saw and emphasized the importance of the education of women, and not only saw it but laboured for it. Even to-day the education of women and girls is one of the causes most urgent in the eyes of Indian social reformers, and in Duff's day almost nothing had been done to promote it. The seclusion of

women—not by any means universal in India, but common in the high castes and among Mohammedans—and still more the practice of very early marriage made the education of girls extremely difficult, and created a solid body of conservative opinion which was utterly opposed to it. Duff realized the unique importance of the question. There can indeed be no stable social progress apart from the education of women, because without them the life of the family and the home, in which all true progress is ultimately conserved, is not touched. Moreover, Duff saw a generation of educated men growing up in Bengal and other parts of India who would demand educated wives, and in whom the fruits of education would largely disappear if in their homes and in the intimate relationship of marriage they lived entirely without the companionship of educated minds. His own policy was twofold. He held that the movement for male education was in reality a movement for female education also, because, as has just been argued, it would create in time an irresistible demand among men for educated wives. This he held to be the fundamental reality of the situation. Meanwhile, pending the appearance of the demand which he confidently (and rightly) predicted, steps must be taken to equip from among such women and girls as could even now be got to offer themselves for education, an adequate number of teachers, who should be ready when the demand for female education became strong and widespread.

Accordingly Duff saw that the refuge for orphan girls, begun in Calcutta some years before, was developed into an efficient school; and he gave

his personal help to every scheme and every society which was addressed to this great and crying need. In addition he used his influence, which was great in his earliest years as a missionary and grew stronger as he became a recognized element in Bengal life, to urge Government to remove legal restrictions on the freedom of women. He fought infant betrothal and early marriage, and the prohibition of the re-marriage of widows, and he rejoiced to find, in 1842, "a secret society among the educated Hindus for privately instructing their young daughters and other female relatives." [1]

Meanwhile Duff's own college was entering upon the second stage of its career. It had been in existence less than ten years, but already it was required to prove itself as a nursery of Christian workers. Duff had been pressed to visit Nuddea, where the Church Missionary Society was at work. It was the headquarters of a Hindu sect called the Kharta-bhajas or "Worshippers of the Creator," in which Duff was much interested. The Anglican missionary at Nuddea pressed Duff to begin work at Kalna on the Hooghly, and both Kalna and Ghospara, farther down the river, commended themselves to Duff, who received from the head of the Kharta-bhajas the promise of a site for a school and church in perpetuity. But he had no prospect of further reinforcement from home, and if it had not been that in his college he had young men fit to accept responsibility these stations could not have been occupied. The two who were chosen were Mahendra Lal Basak and Kailas Chunder

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 460.

Mukerjea, and each up to his early death a few years later did memorable work.

The contribution made by the college in trained reliable Indian missionaries and pastors was remarkable. In addition to those just mentioned, Jugadishwar Bhattacharjya, a Brahmin convert, and Prosunno Kumar Chatterjea, also of the highest Brahmin caste, devoted themselves to rural mission work; Lal Behari Day, one of the best known of Duff's converts, before becoming a Government college professor did responsible work as a pastor; and Behari Lal Singh was the first and for a long time the only missionary in India of the Presbyterian Church of England. Krishna Mohan Banerjea had been ordained in the Church of England, Gopinath Nundi had taken up work with the American Presbyterian Mission, and Anundo Chund Mozumdar with the London Mission. It was always a characteristic of Duff's work in India that the men he trained went to missions and churches of diverse ecclesiastical types, just as the teachers who had learnt pedagogy in his school went all over the Indian Empire. Duff himself was a keen Presbyterian but an even keener Catholic, and he rejoiced without reserve in the fact that his men were serving in all branches of the Church, and that the missionary movement itself, though hampered by the denominational labels of the West, did yet in practice greatly transcend them. To this day the mark of Duff's men is on the Church in India in all its parts.

# CHAPTER IX

## THE DISRUPTION OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH

### 1843

It is perhaps more possible in Calcutta than anywhere else to view the events of the Scottish Disruption of 1843 with the sense that an old trouble has been overcome, for the college which now carries on the work of Duff is called the *Scottish Churches'* College, and represents a union of the two institutions, one of which was brought into being by the split in the Scottish Church. The Disruption of the Church of Scotland is too important an event in the development of men's thinking about the Church for it to be overlooked here, and it is in particular essential for the understanding of the character of Duff that his reaction to this event should be clearly seen. It is not our purpose to emphasize more than is right the factors in the dispute, least of all to represent Duff as a party man, which he never was. All his life long he remained in relations of close friendship with many men in the Established Church, even after he had left what he used to call "the Church of my ordination."

Englishmen are in nothing more conspicuously different from Scotsmen than in their attitude towards religion, and the significance of the Scottish Disruption often seems to be hidden from the English mind which, unable to distinguish between several

bodies, all Presbyterian, assumes that a disinterested love of schism is characteristic of Scottish Christians. It may be confessed that a modern Scotsman may perhaps doubt whether certain of the old controversies were worth while, however sincerely he may admire the courage and constancy of those who were prepared to go out into the wilderness for a point of doctrine. But the 1843 Disruption took place upon an issue of first-class moment, and it is probably true to-day that inside the Establishment almost nobody would defend the position which Chalmers and his colleagues refused to accept, and on whose account they left the Church of Scotland.

Reference has already been made to the existence of parties in the Church of Scotland. The words usually employed to describe them are "Moderate" and "Evangelical," but these party labels are nearly always unsatisfactory. Many of the Moderates were men who believed in the evangel as much as the Evangelicals. In Scotland, as in England, the religious life of the middle of the eighteenth century was at low ebb, officialism overlaid the forces of true piety, and the Erastian doctrine which regards the Church as a department of the State was widely accepted. The great religious revival of the end of the century produced in both parts of Britain another school, devoted to the spreading of personal religion, powerfully possessed of the conviction that men needed to be saved from sin, that salvation was available for men and they must be urged to receive it. In Scotland, with its democratic Church organization, this new life appeared naturally in time within the Church Assembly, and by the time that Duff was a young missionary the Evangelical

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party, led by Dr Chalmers, was very powerful. As we have seen the Scottish mission had been begun by men of both parties, and although it was naturally among the Evangelicals that missionary keenness most prevailed, Duff was extremely anxious that no party label should be attached to his work.

Events however brought the Church of Scotland to a pass where the issues facing it were much more serious than those between Moderate and Evangelical. The threat to the Church's life became apparent over the question of Church patronage, and though it is incorrect to say that the Scottish Disruption took place over patronage, it is true that it was in connection with this question that the deeper issue, spiritual independence, manifested itself.

When a man had been presented by a lay patron to a Church living he had under Presbyterian rules to be ordained (if not already ordained) and inducted to the charge of the congregation by the Presbytery. It was necessary that the Presbytery should be assured of the consent of the people, and accordingly the "call" was signed by all or a majority of the members of the congregation. Under the Moderate ascendancy of the eighteenth century this "call" became a mere farce, and in practice ministers were forced on congregations against their will. With the growth of the Evangelical party this came to be felt as a crying evil, and eventually in 1834 the Assembly passed an Act, known as the Veto Act, forbidding a Presbytery to "induct" a minister where a majority of the congregation were opposed. It was at this point that conflict with the civil courts became imminent.

The case which brought the issue to a head was that of Auchterarder. Here the patron presented a Mr Young; two members of the congregation voted for him and two hundred and eighty (out of three hundred) protested. The Presbytery declined to proceed, whereon the patron and his nominee brought an action in the courts, not only in respect of the stipend—this, as a temporal matter, might be considered fairly within civil jurisdiction—but to compel the Presbytery to proceed with its *spiritual* function of induction. The Scottish judges upheld the appeal, and the House of Lords endorsed their action.

The question was now raised in its simplest form as to the nature of the compact between the Scottish Church and the State. It had always been understood in Scotland that the question had been settled when the Confession of Faith became statute law, declaring that "there is no other Head of the Church than the Lord Jesus Christ," and that He, "as King and Head of His Church, hath therein appointed a government in the hands of Church officers distinct from the civil magistrates." It was now held by the highest court in the land that Establishment meant the subordination of the Church to the civil courts, not only in respect of property and money, to which no objection can be raised, but in regard to her distinctively spiritual functions. If the law can compel a Presbytery to ordain, is there any sense in which the Church can be said to be spiritually free?

Mention has been made of the Marnoch case,[1] and the efforts made there to get Duff to become

[1] See p. 111.

minister. The sequel to Duff's refusal was that the Earl of Fife fulfilled his promise by presenting the unpopular Edwards, the people objected, the Presbytery refused to ordain, and the Court of Session, on the application of Edwards, enjoined the Presbytery to proceed. Here things took a different turn. The majority of the Presbytery were Moderates and wished to obey the Court. The General Assembly, however, determined to assert its supremacy in its own sphere. It first remonstrated with these Moderate ministers and then, finding them obstinate, deposed them. Whereupon the seven deposed ministers met in Marnoch Church and went through the ceremony of ordaining Edwards, in spite of the indignant and humiliated exodus of the entire congregation.

There were other incidents besides those of Auchterarder and Marnoch which helped very speedily to make it plain that only two alternatives lay before the Church of Scotland, if it proposed to resist the particularly humiliating form of State control which the law declared to be involved by the Establishment. One was to get Parliament to alter the terms of the Establishment; the other was, failing the first, to leave the Establishment.

Attempts were made by leading Scottish Churchmen, such as the Earl of Aberdeen and the Duke of Argyll, to take action in Parliament, but without success as the Government of the day held definitely Erastian views. Meanwhile other actions were taken by the Court of Session which encroached in divers ways on the spiritual prerogatives of the Church, until the position was summed up in the words of Lord Cockburn, "We have now in Scotland

a thing called a Church, the spiritual acts of which the law condemns and punishes."

As a last resort the Assembly drew up a Claim of Right, a statement of the conscientious conviction of the Church, and submitted it to Government. The reply of Government, in January 1843, was that the Claim was unreasonable. It is worth noting that patronage was not mentioned in the Claim, but rather spiritual independence, and that the sole point, maintained by the Church with great consistency throughout the struggle, was as to the power of the Church to perform her spiritual task without interference by the civil courts. The Claim of Right was passed by a large majority of the Assembly, and it may therefore be said that the views set out therein were the views of the Church of Scotland.

Thus the Church was forced, after long effort to find another way, to face the breaking of the bond of the Establishment. Although the Claim of Right had been passed by a majority of the whole Assembly, it is perhaps natural that some men should not have been willing to face the very real privations which were entailed on many of those ministers who left their manses and glebes and secure stipends and went out at the call of conscience. Others again may have voted for the Claim but been unwilling, in pursuance of it, to disrupt the Church. The outsiders —the politicians and the press—never believed that any considerable section of the Church would leave the Establishment, and when on May 18th, 1843, nearly five hundred ministers headed by Thomas Chalmers went out from the Assembly and set up the Assembly of the Church of Scotland Free, the

world was not only astonished, but impressed and silenced.

As Dr Carnegie Simpson [1] has said, "The Disruption is at once the glory and the catastrophe of the modern Scottish Church." It was a catastrophe because the national Church was split in two, and only in these latter years is the wound being healed. It was a glory because it demonstrated that a great part of the Scottish Church was prepared to suffer for the principle of the spiritual independence of Christ's Church, and that testimony was of incalculable value to Scotland, and, it may be said, to the world beyond. The Disruption has been half humorously called "Presbyterian Puseyism." In some highly important respects the Free Church movement in Scotland differed profoundly from the Oxford Movement, but in their claim for the absolute liberty of the Church of Christ to do her spiritual work unrestricted by the commands of the State, the Scottish Free Churchmen were entitled to the sympathy of those who in their own way were asserting in England that the Church had its own soul and that its direct allegiance to Christ must be unfettered.

We have described the causes of the Disruption at some length because it affected Duff's work very nearly, and even more because he followed the whole controversy with passionate interest. Without being in any way a partisan in temperament, he cherished the principles for which Chalmers and his comrades fought, and when his own choice came he never hesitated for a moment.

[1] *Life of Principal Rainy*, Vol. I. p. 67. The writer is greatly indebted to Dr Simpson's work, than which no better study exists of the place of the Church in the life of Scotland.

Both the Established Church leaders and those of the Free Church wrote to Duff and the other missionaries explaining what had happened. The correspondence is honourable to both bodies. The Established Church letter expressed the hope that the missionaries would remain with the Church which had hitherto supported them, but had "no wish that personal considerations should influence your decision." [1] The Free Church letter merely stated what had been done, and concluded, "The committee do not of course presume to enter into discussion with you on the subject, or to say one word as to the course which you may find it right to follow." Chalmers added a postscript stating his own opinion that the Free Church, despite its colossal task of maintaining on a national basis all the ministers which Scotland looked for in a Church, would gladly carry on the Mission.

It is a remarkable fact, and one on which the Free Church was entitled to lay stress as evidence of the spiritual principles on which it was acting, that every one of the missionaries of the Church of Scotland adhered to the Free Church, with the exception of one lady missionary. Duff himself said, when confronted with the necessity for choice, "So far as concerned my own mind, the simple truth is that, as regards the great principles contended for by the friends and champions of the Free Church, I never was troubled with the crossing of a doubt or the shadow of a suspicion." [2]

On August 10th of the same memorable year Duff

[1] For full text of the letters see *Calcutta Mission, Church of Scotland*, 1826–46.

[2] Smith, Vol. II. pp. 13, 14.

and his four colleagues sent to the foreign mission leaders of the Established and the Free Churches eight resolutions, expounding their reasons for adhering to the Free Church. In India they issued an explanatory statement to the public, and it was soon found that a great deal of public sympathy was with them. Money was freely offered them to carry on their work whether supplies from Scotland came to hand or not. Duff was asked by the newly-formed Free Church congregation in Calcutta to give a public exposition of the grounds on which the Disruption had taken place and he responded with enthusiasm to the invitation, for the principles he was asked to expound were part and parcel of the spiritual message he had tried to utter in India during his whole career.

In the end the Disruption was unquestionably a good thing for the India Mission, for not only did the Free Church almost immediately double the contributions made to missions in the last year before the Disruption, but it continued to increase its contribution in both men and money, while the Established Church developed new pieces of work. The total extent therefore of the Scottish Mission in India was in the end greatly increased. For the time, however, serious anxiety was caused, for the Established Church decided to exercise its legal right of taking over the Institute, and another building had to be found for Duff's college and school, though the missionaries were allowed to carry on their work in the old building till the close of the 1843 session. A large house was taken in Neem-tollah Street, and on March 4th, 1844, Duff began his work in its second home.

## CHAPTER X

### A DIVERSITY OF LABOURS

### 1844–1850

The remaining years of this second and longest period of Duff's service in India are marked by no outstanding feature, but by steady progress and consolidation in all departments of the work. A new mission was begun at Bansberia, on the Hooghly, and was carried on with considerable success. But it was in Calcutta itself and in the Institution there that the accumulated results of Duff's labours began to be apparent, particularly in the conversion of high caste Hindu students.

Gobindo Chunder Das had been a student in the old Institution and had been removed in consequence of the feeling aroused by the baptisms of 1839. In July 1844 he came to Dr Duff's house stating his resolve to profess his faith in Christ and be baptized. He had during all these years been struggling with the new truth he had received as a student, and could no longer hold back his allegiance to Christ, even though he would have to face ostracism by his family. He became a teacher in the college.

Others followed, until feeling in Calcutta became almost as disturbed as in 1839 and there were even threats against Duff's life. Guru Das Maitra, a member of a well-known Calcutta family, was baptized and became a missionary in the Punjab.

Umesh Chunder Sirkar had been deeply influenced by the Bible teaching in the college, and his friends in alarm at his growing inclination towards Christianity got him to study the rationalist writings of Tom Paine, which completed his conviction of the truth of Christianity. He was only sixteen, and his girl-wife was only ten years of age. In the great Hindu house, which they shared with other members of the family after the Indian custom, the pair studied the Bible and the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and for two years they remained in the paternal home, suspected of Christian leanings, but able to secure enough secrecy to carry on their studies in the Bible. Eventually it became a conscientious conviction with them both, and not least it would appear with the wife, that they should publicly profess themselves as Christians. To take this course meant leaving their father's house, as he would not tolerate their remaining there as Christians, and accordingly, much to Duff's surprise, they took flight during the excitement of a Hindu festival and presented themselves at his house.

Duff's behaviour here seems to have been unexceptionable, even from the Indian point of view. There is no element in missionary work in India which is more painful than the breaking of family ties which the clash between caste and Christianity entails at baptism, and while one may hold that the responsibility lies with the Hindu system which ostracizes, it is possible to sympathize with the Hindus who are apt to regard Christianity, as one Indian said to the writer, as "a thing that breaks up our homes." On this occasion the initiative had lain wholly with Umesh himself. His family

besieged the house, and on violence being shown, Duff had the gates shut, but was scrupulously careful to see that the heads of the family were admitted for the purpose of remonstrating with Umesh, and that they were denied no opportunity of presenting their case. The father, unable to persuade his son, brought an action in the Supreme Court for habeas corpus, alleging that the age of his son was fourteen. Investigation showed that he was really eighteen years of age, and the case collapsed. Both Umesh and his wife were baptized, and afforded the first instance in Bengal of a caste Hindu and his wife being admitted at the same time to Christian baptism.

In 1847, two years later, the storm arose again when four Kulin Brahmins (the highest Brahmin rank) and several others were baptized by Duff. By this time the problem of finding accommodation for the catechists and pastors in training, some of whom were married, as well as providing temporarily for converts who needed house-room, had become acute. Duff hitherto had followed what in many ways was the ideal method and had brought his theological students into his own house, but what is possible with two or three is not possible with a dozen, and the difficulty of accommodation, although the kind of difficulty by which a missionary likes to be faced, was real. It was overcome by the generosity of some European friends of Duff, who presented him with £1000 to build a home for Christian students and converts, and the building served this purpose until the Christians of Calcutta were strong enough to render the original provision needless, whereupon it was turned into a hostel attached to the college.

It is interesting to note that Duff all through his career had the warmest support of Europeans of the best type and of other Churches than his own. Sir James Outram gave him the money for his Bansberia mission-house—it was a part of the prize-money for the Sind expedition, which he loathed so greatly that he would not touch his share of the spoil. Sir Henry Lawrence supported him regularly and frequently by gifts as well as sympathy, and many other instances could be quoted of the way in which he carried with him the finest elements in the European community.

To the same period we may trace the foundation of the Bengali Church in Calcutta, as distinguished from the Mission and the congregation of Europeans. The occasion was the sending of a letter from the Assembly in Scotland to the converts of the Scottish missions in different parts of India. This letter was read by Duff to the Christian students and graduates, and he records the vivid realization it brought of the unity of the Christian brotherhood which, overleaping all interposing obstacles, would assimilate and incorporate into one all the scattered members of Christ's mystical body. Shortly afterwards, in October 1848, the new sense of Church responsibility issued in the formation of a Bengali congregation, which has had a continuous and honourable existence from that day to this.

If in all these ways Duff was seeing some of the fruits of his labours, his educational policy was to be rewarded in the secular sphere also. In the controversy which issued in the 1835 Resolution, Duff had again and again emphasized the importance of opening the Government service to Indians educated

in English, if it were really desired to give English education the predominant place. Almost ten years later in October, 1844, the new Governor-General, Sir Henry Hardinge, published a decree opening the service to English-educated Indians, thereby showing the progress made in this period of ten years by the new system of education. For good or evil it was a most important decree. Probably no one could have foreseen the extent to which education in India was to be looked on as an avenue to appointments of the clerical type, and it is necessary, even for those who most deplore this element in the Indian educational situation, to acknowledge that it was not an inevitable consequence of the decree, and that in itself the decree could rightly be regarded by Duff and others as beneficial to the public administration, and as providing a new incentive to education.

Reference has already been made to the belief Duff had in the power of the press, and the frequent use he made of it. During the time when opposition ran highest and when, as we have said, his life was threatened, he wrote most effective and dignified letters to the Indian-edited press, stating courageously and plainly his principles and inviting his Indian readers to believe that he relied on no other force than the intrinsic worth of his message. They are remarkable letters to be written by a missionary to a non-Christian public at a time of intense feeling.

Duff, however, enjoyed a larger experience of journalism than this, in his connection with the *Calcutta Review*. Of this journal he was part founder and later editor. It was the outcome of the work of three men, Captain (later Sir John) Kaye, an

ex-Artillery officer, Marshman, son of Carey's famous colleague at Serampore, and Duff. These men, aided by a few others of whom Sir Henry Lawrence was one, felt the need in India of a review to which men of all types of opinion and religious belief could contribute. Kaye was the editor and originating spirit. Duff's only condition, made before joining the venture, was that "nothing should appear in the Review hostile to Christianity or Christian subjects generally, and that whenever proper occasion naturally arose, clear and distinct enunciations should be made as to sound Christianity and its propagation by missionaries in India."[1] This was very characteristic of Duff. He himself wrote a long article for the first number of the Review upon the old Danish mission at Tranquebar, and for the second number took as his subject "Female Infanticide among the Rajputs and other Tribes in India," on which he wrote a monumental article, based on an examination of fifty years of blue books.

Kaye had to return to England owing to bad health not very long after the Review had been started, and to Duff's great astonishment and dismay the editorship was pressed upon him. It was represented to him that the paper should at all costs go on, that several men had been approached without success, and that no one but himself could perform this particular service to India. He eventually consented, and continued as editor until 1849, when he returned on furlough to Scotland. Kaye tried to persuade Duff to accept some remuneration for his work, but he declined:

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

I looked upon the work as one calculated in many important ways to promote the vital interests of India, and in endeavouring to promote these I felt there was no inconsistency in devoting a portion of my time to it besides the more direct mission work; in fact that the two duties worked into each other's hands and promoted the interests of each other. . . . I felt, however, that the Institution I had founded ought to derive some direct benefit from the Review. Accordingly I took five hundred rupees a year for scholarships and prizes.[1]

It was part of Duff's policy as editor to enlist Bengali writers for the Review, and men like Krishna Mohan Banerjea and Lal Behari Day wrote in its columns. Even after Duff ceased to be editor his influence guided the journal as long as he remained in India, and it is a remarkable proof of his versatility and his power of labour that he was able successfully to add to his other duties this peculiarly exacting form of work.

His energies found other outlets as well, and his passion for the redemption of India led him into support of enterprises having no connection with his educational work. We have mentioned in an earlier chapter the part taken by Duff in the establishment of the Medical College. He was the chief influence in the erection of the great Hospital in Calcutta, close to the Medical College, which was the first thoroughly modern hospital in India and is still among the largest in the world. For Calcutta and Bengal in Duff's day were unhealthy to a degree of which the present generation knows little. Especially after the rains, when heat and humidity make a perfect breeding-ground for cholera and fever, the climate is dangerous, and in October of 1844,

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 95.

when Calcutta was filled with thousands of sick and destitute people, Duff appealed in a sermon, which was long remembered in the city, for the establishment of a Hospital. The movement thus launched united missionaries, members of the Bengal Medical Service, and wealthy Indians, and was speedily successful in the provision, to quote the official appeal, of "a Native General Hospital worthy of the city and commensurate with its needs."

We may mention here too Duff's labours on behalf of the Eurasian (or Anglo-Indian) community. He was deeply interested in the efforts of this domiciled community to raise the level of its education by improving the academy which developed into Doveton College. He was in fact instrumental in securing as head of this college a Scotsman, Mr Morgan, who did five years' magnificent service until he died of overwork.

In July 1847 there came to Duff the sad news of the death of Dr Chalmers. None of all his contemporaries and friends had meant so much to Duff as his old teacher, and for no living man had he so great an affection and admiration. He owed a great personal debt to Chalmers for the inspiration given to him in his student days, but it is clear that he thought of him mainly not as the enthusiastic teacher, not as the leader of the Free Church in its spiritual adventure, but as the great exponent in the Scottish Church of the Christian missionary enterprise. In Chalmers the evangelical idea (using that word in its truest sense) issued alike in his doctrine of the Church and in a passion for world-wide expansion. With Duff it was the same, and he

had not only a personal relation to Chalmers as a friend but a profound intellectual and spiritual kinship. In the estimation of a man's life and character few things are so important as the friends he most loves and admires, and the admiration and regard of Duff for Chalmers reveal a great deal of what is most essential in the missionary's character.

In a letter, written not long after he had heard the news of Chalmers' death, Duff writes thus of him :

> Now if, by general consent, he who has been so suddenly laid low was long acknowledged in point of real intellectual and moral greatness combined to be the master-mind of his own country, if not of his own age, it only remains to be added, in justice to the character of the departed, that, though not a missionary himself, in the ordinary technical use of that term, or even no very active member of any missionary board or committee, yet in all that constitutes the real grandeur of wide, all-comprehending, God-like philanthropy, he has been for years the leading missionary spirit of Christendom.[1]

Chalmers had been the Principal of the New College, the theological college founded in Edinburgh by the Free Church after the Disruption. A move was immediately made by the Assembly to get Duff, as one of the ablest and most distinguished of Chalmers' pupils, to come home to Scotland and succeed him. When, on his first furlough, attempts had been made by congregations and patrons of livings to attract him to comfortable spheres in Scotland, Duff had refused absolutely to consider leaving his work in India, and now that

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 116.

not merely individuals but the most authoritative body in his Church asked him to take up this great position, he seems not to have hesitated any more than in the former case. He was impatient of the people who "uniformly congratulated me on what they are pleased to designate as my contemplated 'elevation' or 'promotion' to the Edinburgh theological chair."

> The conclusion of the whole matter [he went on] is this, that in some form or other, at home or abroad or partly both, the Church of my fathers must see it to be right and meet to allow me to retain, in the view of all men, the clearly marked and distinguishing character of a missionary to the heathen abroad, labouring directly amongst them; at home, pleading their cause among the churches of Christendom. . . . For the sake of the heathen, and especially the people of India, let me cling all my days to the missionary cause.[1]

When it was rumoured in Calcutta that Duff was being urged to return to Scotland, the most earnest and vigorous appeals were made to him to remain. They were not needed, but even the most devoted missionary is glad when those whom he has gone to serve show that he is loved and trusted. The sixteen most prominent of his converts, speaking for all the rest, begged him to remain with them; the Christians of other Churches, representative Eurasians, Hindu students and graduates who had passed through his college or come into contact with him, all earnestly besought him not to leave his work in India. Most remarkable of all was "a Sanskrit remonstrance from eleven learned Brahmans 'desirous of the Chief Good, to the most intelligent,

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 118.

virtuous, impartial, glorious and philanthropic people of Scotland.' "

The idea of abandoning India was therefore immediately and definitely dismissed. Nevertheless, it was becoming plain that Duff's health would necessitate another period of furlough in Scotland. He had been continuously in India since 1840, and the doctors pronounced his constitution to be gravely weakened. But before he went home it was arranged that he should visit other parts of India and survey the work of other missions in both North and South. In the summer of 1849 he toured through South India —hardly, one would think, the ideal rest-cure for a more or less invalid missionary. Even Duff, judging from entries in his private diary, seems to have been impressed by the heat, for it was the hottest time of a hot year, and travelling by palanquin must have been excessively trying.

The land through which Duff was now to travel is the earliest home of Indian Christianity, for in Travancore is the home of the ancient Syrian Church, whose reputed founder is St Thomas the Apostle, and in Tanjore and Tranquebar on the eastern side Schwartz and Ziegenbalg, the first Protestant missionaries, had worked. Duff studied with filial zeal all that he could find of the records of their work. He had long been interested in the Danish mission at Tranquebar, but on the actual scene of these men's labours his mind seemed preoccupied not so much with their work as with the pioneer missionaries themselves. His diary contains an account of his visit to the tomb of Schwartz, to the library of Ziegenbalg, and to other memorials of those early forerunners in the missionary cause.

He visited Tinnevelly, even then the centre of a flourishing Christian church, and now, apart from Syrian Travancore, the home of the most populous Christian community in India.

The great temples of the South with their immense *gopurams* (towers over the gateways) and masses of curious and sometimes unpleasant carving, great colonnades, and magnificently adorned images, riveted his attention, and his diary shows the impression they made on him. He had scarcely the dispassionate and scientific spirit which makes the true observer; he was first and last a missionary and in all those ancient piles he beheld more than anything else vast monuments of error. He is not the only man in whom these huge shrines, memorials as they are of the religious quest of mankind, have aroused mingled wonder, loathing and compassion.

Ceylon too was visited, and then Duff returned by sea to Calcutta, which he reached in the month of August. Scarcely two months later he left once more, this time for the North, which he was to visit during the cold weather and so complete his general survey of Indian missions. Benares, the most sacred spot of all Hindu India, he visited, and went on up the valleys of the Ganges and the Jumna, making his way as far as Simla (not yet the centre of Indian hot-weather government) and Kotgarh, where the Church Missionary Society had planted a station. Farther north and west he went by Jullunder and Amritsar to Lahore, where his friend Sir Henry Lawrence was Lieutenant-Governor. Here he was asked by his host to preach to a great audience of Europeans, military and civilian, in the hall of Government House—the kind of oppor-

tunity Duff always appreciated immensely. Leaving Lahore he travelled down the Sutlej and the Indus to join Dr Wilson of Bombay who had come up to Sind to meet him.

In the spring of 1850 Dr and Mrs Duff set sail from Bombay and reached Edinburgh once more at the end of April.

# CHAPTER XI

## SCOTLAND, AMERICA, AND INDIAN REFORM

## 1850–1855

Duff had not been in Scotland since the Disruption of the Scottish Church, and he came back to find the Free Church well and strongly founded, and facing all the tasks and duties which are proper to a Church which is not sectarian but national. Interest in the missionary work of the Church was not small, for not only had Duff's exertions on his previous furlough borne fruit, but others, like Wilson of Bombay, had been at home in the interval and had maintained knowledge and enthusiasm. Yet the time had come when the missionary enterprise of the Church needed a more adequate and organized support. It was now of considerable dimensions, and it could not be maintained and expanded without careful attention to the methods of disseminating information and securing support throughout the length and breadth of the Church. The first annual "deficit"—familiar word to missionary organizers—occurred in 1847, and this and other crises were met by the generosity of those who cared most deeply about the missions. Duff determined to devote himself to the task of developing and strengthening the "home base" of his work.

On the personal side, Duff's youngest son has left a rather pathetic account of the home-coming of his

"far-away father and mother." A little knot of friends, whom Duff's eleven-year-old boy was given leave from school to join, assembled at the Waverley Station in Edinburgh one evening towards the end of April 1850 to welcome Dr and Mrs Duff.

> My father looked wearied, and his coat indicated much travel and wear and at supper that night my mother said, "Had ——, your old bearer, been with you, he would not have allowed you to wear your coat in such a state."

The father must have been very much taken up with his friends or with his own thoughts. At any rate he seems hardly to have noticed his son, for the next morning, when the boy was out walking in the street with one of the masters from his school, he saw

> a worn gentleman . . . coming feebly along. I did not know him. He did not know me. The tutor said, "Dr Duff" and sure enough father and son were then introduced.

The next Sunday evening Duff catechized his son and "in an agony of spirit delivered his judgment: 'The heathen boys in my Institution in Calcutta know more of the Bible than you do.'" [1]

Duff arrived in Scotland in time for the Assembly of 1850, and at this gathering he made five speeches, all of considerable length, as most of his speeches were. The first was on the occasion of the Assembly's discussion of Jewish missions, when he gave some account of the curious and ancient communities of Jews in Cochin and elsewhere in India; the second, dealing with colonial work, emphasized the importance of the European and Eurasian communities in India; the third was in support of the "Sustentation

[1] *Memorials of Alexander Duff*, by his son, pp. 104, 105.

Fund" for the maintenance of the ministry, a fund which Chalmers had begun and which has long since been recognized as one of the most fundamentally sound financial systems prevailing in any ecclesiastical body. The remaining two were on his own theme of India. They revealed Duff's rapturous passionate eloquence at its finest. An eye-witness says:

> On each night, now swaying his arms towards the vast audience round and even above him, on the roof, and now jerking his left shoulder with an upward motion till the coat threatened to fall off, the tall form kept thousands spell-bound while the twilight of a northern May night changed into the brief darkness, and the tardy lights revealed the speaker bathed in the flood of his impassioned appeals. As the thrilling voice died away in the eager whisper which, at the end of his life, marked all his public utterances, and the exhausted speaker fell into a seat, only to be driven home to a couch of suffering, and then of rest barely sufficient to enable his fine constitution to renew and repeat again and again the effort, the observer could realize the expenditure of physical energy which culminated in his prophet-like raptures.[1]

In those days audiences seem to have been content to listen to speeches of great length, and to remain listening until late in the night. In one of these two India speeches the orator had concluded a description of the great temple at Seringham; it was near midnight, and he seemed so exhausted that he was begged by a friend near to stop and conclude his speech on the next day. But the House demanded that he should go on, and for two more hours he spoke, "while not a hearer moved save to catch the almost gasping utterance towards the close."[2]

The last speech contained one of the finest, and

[1] Smith, Vol. II. p. 183. [2] *Ibid.*

perhaps the most often quoted, of Duff's passages. It is to be remembered that he was a Highlander, and that he was addressing a great audience of Scotsmen :

In days of yore I was wont to listen to the Poems of Ossian, and to many of those melodies that were called Jacobite songs. . . . While listening to these airs of the olden time, some stanzas and sentiments made an indelible impression on my mind. Roving in the days of my youth over the heathery heights, or climbing the craggy steeps of my native land, or lying down to enjoy the music of the roaring waterfalls, I was wont to admire the heroic spirit which they breathed; and they became so stamped in memory that I have carried them with me over more than half the world. One of these seemed to me to embody the quintessence of loyalty of an earthly kind. It is the stanza in which it is said by the father or mother,—

"I hae but ae son, the brave young Donald;"

and then the gush of emotion turned his heart as it were inside out, as he exclaimed,—

"But, oh, had I ten, they would follow Prince Charlie."

Are these the visions of romance,—the dreams of poetry and of song? Oh, let that rush of youthful warriors, from "bracken bush and glen," that rallied round the standards of Glenfinnan,—let the gory beds, and cold, cold grassy winding-sheets of bleak Culloden Muir bear testimony to the reality, the intensity of the loyalty to an earthly prince; and shall a Highland father and mother give up all their children as an homage to earthly loyalty, and shall I be told that in the Churches of Christ, in the Free Church of Scotland, fathers and mothers will begrudge their children to Him who is the King of kings and Lord of lords? Will they testify their loyalty to an earthly prince, to whom they lie under very little obligation, by giving up all their sons, while they refuse, when it comes to the point of critical decision, even one son for the army of Immanuel, to whom they owe their life, their salvation, their all? . . .

I have been affected beyond measure during the last twelve months at finding, from one end of India to the other, monuments of British dead. In a solitary place at Ramnad, on the banks of the Straits of Palk that overlook Ceylon —a place entirely out of the way—I was deeply affected to find a humble tombstone erected to the memory of a young officer brought up on the braes of Athole, in a parish adjacent to my own. I thought the father and mother of this young man had no objection to send out their son here in search of military renown, only to find his grave; but probably they would have refused him to the service of Christ as a humble missionary of the Cross. From one end of India to the other the soil is strewn with British slain or British dead. There is not a valley, nor dell, nor burning waste, from one end of India to the other, that is not enriched with the bones, and not a rivulet or stream which has not been dyed with the blood, of Scotia's children. And will you, fathers and mothers, send out your children in thousands in quest of this bubble fame—this bubble wealth—this bubble honour and perishable renown, and will you prohibit them from going forth in the army of the great Immanuel, to win crowns of glory and imperishable renown in the realms of everlasting day? [1]

As to the matter of organization, Duff carried his point and secured permission to form a missionary association in every congregation. It was arranged that he should, as before, go over the whole length and breadth of the Church, and this formed the main part of his work during the next three and a half years. Nor were his labours confined to Scotland. The reputation he had made on his previous furlough in other parts of the United Kingdom had not been forgotten, and he was constantly in demand outside the confines of the Free Church. He went to Ireland to tell the Presbyterians there about their mission in Guzerat. He had an experience, which

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 184-186.

deeply impressed him, of the fervour of the Welsh evangelical revival when he was asked to address a multitude of twenty thousand on an open hillside near Bangor. In England he was much in request, and in Manchester and London and elsewhere he addressed great audiences, drawn from different Churches, on India and Indian missions and Britain's responsibilities. The sustained vigour and passion of his speaking on these journeys would be remarkable in any man, but it is much more so when we remember that only towards the end of this long furlough did he shake off the effects of the Bengal climate, and that again and again he had to force himself to deliver speeches or set out on wintry journeys when in a state of physical weakness or even exhaustion.

He was elected Moderator of the Free Church Assembly in 1851, the first missionary to be called to this the highest ecclesiastical office which Presbyterian Churches boast, and it may be added, one of the youngest men who have held the position. He welcomed it as a proof of the Church's changed attitude towards the missionary cause.

> In the early and most flourishing times of the church, the office of the apostle, missionary, or evangelist, who "built not on another man's foundation," was regarded as the highest and most honourable. . . . Hence we read of Augustine, and Willibrord, and Winifred and Anscharius, and many more besides, who fearlessly perilled their lives in labouring to reclaim the Saxon, Frieslanders, Hersians, Swedes, and other pagan and barbarous tribes, being afterwards created bishops and archbishops, in acknowledgment of their arduous and successful toils. But in more recent times, when the office of the missionary fell into almost entire desuetude among the leading Reformed communities of Christendom, and the attempt to revive

it was at first denounced as an unwarrantable intrusion and novelty, the name, once so glorious in the Church of Christ, came to be associated with all that is low, mean, contemptible, or fanatical; but praised be God that of late years the name has been rescued from much of the odium, through a juster appreciation of the grandeur, dignity, and heavenly objects of the office that bears it. For the office's sake, therefore, wholly irrespective of the worthiness or unworthiness of the individual who may hold it, I cannot but hail this day's appointment as a sure indication that, whatever the case may be with others, the Free Church of Scotland has fairly risen above the vulgar and insensate prejudices of a vauntingly religious but leanly spiritual age.[1]

Duff's youngest son chronicles the fact that his own most vivid recollection of the honour paid to his father was "the excellent fare afforded by Mr MacGregor of the Royal Hotel, Edinburgh, where the Moderator was domiciled for ten days"! He adds, "Burdened with the Church's work I saw little of him [his father] in 1854."[2]

Duff had an opportunity in his closing address, in which it is customary for the Moderator to review some of the leading acts of the Assembly, to refer to the discussions that had taken place on the improvement of the Church's theological curriculum. The unity of learning and piety was a cause very dear to Duff.

What we desiderate is, learning in inseparable combination with devoted piety. Piety without learning! Does it not in the case of religious teachers ever tend to fanaticism; would it not be apt to make the life of the Church blaze away too fast? Learning without piety! Does it not ever tend to a frigid indifference; would it not soon extinguish spiritual life in the Church altogether? . . .

[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. II. p. 224.

[2] *Memorials of Alexander Duff*, by his son, p. 106.

[It had been urged that a learned ministry is apt to be proud.] Did it ever occur to these shrewd observers that an ignorant ministry is apt to be conceited ? . . . Surely the infinitely varying forms of open and avowed infidelity in our day render it more than ever necessary that the department of Christian evidence or apologetic theology should be cultivated to the uttermost, and that all the resources of sharpened intellect and extensive erudition should be brought to bear upon it.[1]

We have already had occasion to notice the interest that Duff took in other departments of the Church's life besides the missionary. He had a mind that loathed every kind of sectarianism, and he was as impatient of narrowly self-centred missionary enthusiasm as of any other exhibition of the partisan spirit.

Great, however, as were his services to the cause of missions in the homeland, it is the part he played in the further development of the educational policy of the Indian Government that most distinguishes this period of his life. We have seen more than once how important were the occasions, at intervals of twenty years, when the Charter of the East India Company was renewed by Parliament. The year 1853 was the occasion of the last of the revisions before the Government of India was taken over formally by Parliament. A strong move was made to abolish the Company, and the attacks came both from commercial interests which coveted a share in the trade of which the Company held a monopoly, and from the progressive leaders who desired to see reform in Government proceed at a quicker pace. The Company's control was continued but with certain great modifications. Bengal was made a

[1] Smith, Vol. II. pp. 225, 226.

Lieutenant-Governorship, the Crown nominated a proportion of the Directors, who were reduced in number, and the Charter itself was renewed not for a statutory period of twenty years, but during the pleasure of Parliament. But more important than any of these provisions were the change that threw open the covenanted Civil Service to competition, and the educational reforms which were in large measure the work of Duff.

It will be recollected that twenty years before, the struggle had been over the nature of the education to which public money should be devoted. That battle had been won by Macaulay, Trevelyan and Duff, and English education got its chance. But the resources of Government had so far been devoted only to the maintenance of Government educational institutions, and it had long been Duff's desire to see a reform inaugurated whereby the subsidy of Government should be available, on an equitable system, for the whole educational fabric of the country. This idea he urged incessantly upon the authorities in London, interviewing the members of Parliament and Ministers most interested in India, and giving evidence and answering cross-examination before the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Indian questions.

He was able to give a great deal of evidence on other issues besides that of education, for his knowledge of different sides of Indian government and his contacts with officials had always been considerable. It was, however, on the educational question that he spent his strength, and he worked with his old allies John Marshman (the son of the Serampore missionary) and Sir Charles Trevelyan, now Secretary to the

Treasury. The main criticisms they had to meet were those which proceeded from a fear of the effects of education in increasing vocal and informed criticism by Indians of British rule in India, and those which came from opponents of the progress of missions, who, like the ex-Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough (a convinced secularist), were strongly hostile to any aid being given by Government to missionary institutions of any kind.

Duff's personal convictions were such as to enable him to meet these two lines of criticism very effectively, for while he would certainly prefer a purely secular education to no education at all, he very strongly advanced the view throughout his whole life that the interests of government could best be served by the closest connection being maintained between education and religion—or, he would say, Christianity. He agreed in deploring the unsettling effects of an education which destroyed men's faith in Hinduism and left them with no other spiritual philosophy of life, but his remedy was not with the conservatives, "limit and restrict education," but "encourage all education that is given in connection with religious teaching." His point of view is clearly put in an answer to the challenge of Lord Ellenborough that Duff's proposals would result in the political ruin of India:

> I have never ceased to pronounce the system of giving a high English education, without religion, blind suicidal policy. On the other hand, for weighty reasons, I have never ceased to declare, that if our object be, not merely for our own aggrandisement, but very specially for the welfare of the natives, to retain our dominion in India, no wiser or more effective plan can be conceived than that of bestowing this higher English education in close

and inseparable alliance with the illumining, quickening, beautifying influences of the Christian faith.[1]

The new India Bill was introduced by Sir Charles Wood (later Lord Halifax) in a speech of the highest ability. Duff and Marshman then placed their educational views as given in evidence before the Committee in a memorandum for Government, and this was virtually embodied in a state paper sent to India (where Lord Dalhousie was now Governor-General) as the famous Education Dispatch in 1854.

In several points this Dispatch reflects the views of Duff. Its emphasis on the education of women owed something to him, and he had some share in the plans of the three Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, which were founded as the result of the Dispatch on the model of London University. The remarks of the Dispatch about vernacular education are worth quoting, for they show how consistently both the 1835 and the 1854 reforms held before them the importance of the cultivation of the vernacular.

> It is neither our aim nor desire to substitute the English language for the vernacular dialects of the country. We have always been most sensible of the importance of the use of the languages which alone are understood by the great mass of the population. These languages, and not English, have been put by us in place of Persian in the administration of justice and in the intercourse between the officers of the Government and the people. It is indispensable . . . that in any general system of education, the study of them should be assiduously attended to, and any acquaintance with improved European knowledge which is to be communicated to the great mass of the people can only be conveyed to them through one or other of these vernacular languages.

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 243, 244.

In many ways the " grant-in-aid " system begun by this Dispatch is the most notable thing about it, and to the present day this has been the main principle on which Government has financed education in India. It was laid down that public moneys were to be devoted not only to the maintenance of Government schools and colleges, but to the assistance of institutions begun and maintained by private bodies, whether Hindu, Mohammedan or Christian, whether indigenous or foreign. The policy of Government was to follow the double line of maintaining at as high a standard as possible, out of public moneys, a certain number of its own institutions, and also of aiding private enterprise, and thereby calling private enterprise into being.

The 1854 Dispatch has very justly been called the educational charter of India, and it exhibits a foresight and grasp of the exigencies of the time which deserve the highest admiration. It enabled the amount of education in India to be very greatly increased, it gave support to all those groups in Indian society which desired to further and develop private educational undertakings. To this policy is largely due the growth of missionary education to its present dimensions, and if the present day calls for revision and reform of the system of Christian education in India, and of education in India as a whole, it is in no sense a reflection upon the framers of this Dispatch.

There is one aspect of this " grant-in-aid " system which it may be well to emphasize here. A purely Government system of education must inevitably lack variety. Moreover, it will tend to produce a uniform moral and intellectual type, and if its con-

trollers are awake to their opportunities it will give them the dangerous power of moulding the thought of the nation in any direction they may desire. While Government must in all countries be ultimately responsible for the main work of popular education, it will always make for the health of the community, morally and intellectually, if the system adopted by Government is elastic enough to admit and to welcome the formation of bodies which have a particular method to follow or a particular ideal to maintain. As Sir Michael Sadler writes :

> National education . . . is essentially a sort of envelope of varied influences (some didactic, some social, some economic, some mental) which act on the sympathies, the imagination, the judgment and the will, stimulating all alike into activity but imparting no identity of belief or of ideal or of prejudice. . . . Fortunate is the nation which by inbred power produces variations of type and has diversity in its unity. Such a nation may not be able to boast of a tidily organized "system of national education," but it may produce great poets and sages, great captains in war and in industry, great statesmen and divines, and unknown heroes and heroines. It may enrich the world with new discoveries and with creative ideas. It brooks no standardized culture. . . . We may well continue to allow a certain variety in our educational influences and institutions, in order that temporarily unpopular or temporarily undervalued ways of life may still have shelter in some corners of our national education.[1]

These words were written with Britain in mind, but the principle they embody is universal. It is to the credit of the reformers of 1854 that they furnished India with a system in which Government might stand ready both to take initiative itself and

[1] In *The International Review of Missions*, October 1921, page 29.

to assist those who desired to work on their own lines. Fresh problems have arisen in India since the days of the great Dispatch, but it is still possible to look upon it as a landmark in the history of modern India, and to admire the courage, insight and perseverance of the men who carried it through.

The last year of Duff's extended furlough was spent in America. The cause of this visit was the tenacity of a merchant of Philadelphia, by name Stuart, who had been present at the Assembly in Edinburgh in 1851, and had been so deeply impressed by the personality and oratory of the Moderator that he then and there, and at intervals throughout the next three years, besought him to come to America. Canada also invited him, and in 1854 the Church sent him across the Atlantic.

From the moment of his landing in New York he was received with the most warm-hearted and enthusiastic hospitality. People flocked to hear him, hung on his words, deferred to him in everything, and generally treated him in a way which, while it warmed Duff's heart, made him in his humility wonder whether it were not impious that he should allow himself to be praised so much. At Philadelphia his host, the aforementioned Stuart, had gathered together about seventy of the leading clergy and laymen of all denominations to meet him on a tempestuous night of hurricane wind and snow. At the great meeting in Philadelphia the enthusiasm was so great that Duff, writing to his wife, says :

> You would have thought that all the winds in the cave of Æolus had been let loose, and that the great audience was convulsed, and heaved to and fro in surging billows, like the Atlantic Ocean in a hurricane. Nothing like such

a scene had ever been witnessed here before at any religious meeting whatever. I could not but have an intense impression that the Lord had greatly more than answered all my prayers, had greatly more than rebuked my fainting unbelief, had greatly more than exceeded my utmost hopes or wishes, or even imaginations. I retired more than ever lost in wonder and amazement, praising and magnifying the name of the Lord.[1]

The amount of speaking which his enthusiastic host demanded from him was really more than he could stand. He writes to his wife :

You may say, why allow myself to be done up in this way ? Indeed, I have fought and struggled and toiled to prevent it. But all in vain. The kindness of these people is absolutely oppressive ; their importunity to address here and there and everywhere so absolutely autocratic, that I am driven, in spite of myself, to do more than I know I can well stand. Bad as the state of things in Scotland was in this respect, it is ten times, yea, a hundred times worse here. Here the applicants are legion, and their dinning impetuous as the Atlantic gales. Ministers in all directions ask me to preach for them ; committees of all sorts, of a religious, philanthropic, or missionary character, do the same ; managers of schools entreat me to visit and address their pupils ; young men's associations and all manner of nondescripts beleaguer me. Indeed, if I could multiply myself into a hundred bodies, each with the strength of a Hercules and the mental and moral energy of a Paul, I could not overtake the calls and demands made upon me, here and from many other quarters, since my arrival.[2]

In New York the impression he created was no less than in Philadelphia. In Washington he preached to Congress and spent a day with the President. Then he made for the west, visited Pittsburg, went as far as St Louis, and then turned north to Chicago, Detroit, and Montreal in Canada.

[1] Smith, Vol. II. p. 268. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 273.

His first intention had been to go into the eastern provinces of Canada and return home from thence, but his presence was demanded at a great missionary conference in New York, where he was able to consolidate all the advice he had given on missionary affairs and urge upon the representatives present some practical lines of missionary advance. The University of New York made him a Doctor of Laws, honours of all kinds were heaped upon him, and although he had made no appeals for money, a letter containing £5000 was placed in his hands as he left America.

His departure was a scene of extraordinary enthusiasm and emotion. The quay and the ship were crowded with friends. "Many," says an American witness, "could only take him by the hand, weep and pass on. Never did any man leave our shores so encircled with Christian sympathy and affection." [1]

Duff reached Edinburgh just in time for the Assembly's discussion on foreign missions, and gave an account of his tour. But he was now to have the first genuine rest he had had since leaving India. The doctor absolutely forbade him to return to India in the autumn (1854) as he desired, and it was arranged that after some rest and cure at Malvern he should travel about slowly in southern Europe, after which, if all went well, he might consider returning to India.

From Malvern, where he became a warm friend of Lord Aberdeen's family, he went south to Bayonne and Biarritz, and then by Marseilles to Civita Vecchia and Rome. He was delighted to have the oppor-

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 291.

tunity of visiting the Vaudois Protestant Church in North Italy, but he found the climate too cold and went south again to Genoa, Palermo, Alexandria and Beyrout, at which place he made the acquaintance of the American missionaries whose educational work has since become famous. Crossing the Lebanon to Damascus, he made his way through Palestine to Jerusalem and Jaffa, and thence by steamer to Constantinople and Marseilles. For a few days he remained in Paris, and then returned to Edinburgh in August, greatly restored in health and able to face India once more. After an autumn spent with his boys he left with his wife, on October 13th, 1855, for his third visit to India.

## CHAPTER XII

### The Mutiny. Farewell to India

### 1856–1863

It was not until the middle of February, 1856, that Duff reached Calcutta, for under medical advice he spent most of the cold weather in the bracing, dry climate of Central India and the Deccan uplands. He was received at Calcutta with a tremendous demonstration of welcome, both from his Indian friends and from the Europeans.

He had returned to India at a most anxious time. There was widespread unrest and discontent, which those who were most intimately in touch with Indian opinion knew to be far more serious than Government apparently was disposed to admit. Duff and Marshman had given evidence before the Lords' Committee on the subject of the oppression of the peasantry in Bengal and the corruption of the police. There was agrarian trouble in several districts, and the aboriginal Santals had risen in armed revolt against the Hindu usurers into whose debt they had fallen. Most important of all, the Mohammedan community was seething with discontent, and Lord Dalhousie's great additions to the domains of the British Raj in India made the task of defence more difficult than before.

It was a combination of these causes that created the tense situation which, with the rumours about

cartridges smeared with cows' fat and pigs' lard, suddenly flared up into the Indian Mutiny. No one now believes that the cartridge rumour alone caused the Mutiny, as used to be taught in the school-books, but it probably caused the storm which was brewing to break earlier than it would otherwise have done. Possibly also the unity of the plans behind the Mutiny was broken thereby. We are, however, only concerned here with the relation of Duff and of the movement he had initiated to the great storm that swept over India.

Calcutta, where Duff was living during the Mutiny, was not actually the scene of massacre. A plot had been laid for the general slaughter of all Europeans in Calcutta, but it was divulged, and the sepoys were disarmed in time. The panic in the city was terrible. Rumour of the wildest description as to what was happening in North India—and the truth was bad enough—flew from one to another in the European community, and heavy pressure was brought to bear on Duff and the other missionaries to leave Cornwallis Square, in the centre of the Indian city, and take shelter in the European lines. This they all refused to do, and it is to the credit of the missionaries and *padres*, foreign and Indian, that on Sunday, June 14th, eleven days after the outbreak of the Mutiny at Meerut, though the churches were nearly empty the services were held. Duff himself enjoyed the best night's sleep he had had for weeks! The next day it was stated that the sepoys had been successfully disarmed, and for the time being danger to Calcutta at least was past.

Duff's letters to his home Committee during these

weeks of terror in India were published, and form an interesting comment on the state of life and opinion in India at this time. The massacres at Cawnpore and Meerut, the capture, siege and recapture of Delhi, the renowned defence of Lucknow —things like these filled the minds of the Europeans in India. Duff shared the universal horror at the atrocities, urged successfully on the Governor-General the arming of the Europeans in Calcutta, and was whole-heartedly behind all the military measures that were taken. He describes North India as a scene of

> universal anarchy, turbulence and ruin !—the military stations in possession of armed and bloodthirsty mutineers,—the public treasures rifled,—the habitations of the British residents plundered and reduced to ashes,—numbers of British officers, with judges, magistrates, women and children, butchered with revolting cruelties, —the remaining factions of the British that have not yet escaped cooped up in isolated spots, and closely hemmed in by myriads that are thirsting for their blood, while bands of armed ruffians are scouring over the country, bent on ravage, plunder, and murder, striking terror and consternation into the minds of millions of the peacefully disposed.[1]

It should also, however, be recorded that Duff did not fall into the temper of mind which so easily besets a member of the small white community in India when there is trouble abroad—a blind hatred of all things Indian and a purely racial determination to preserve the white ascendancy. For instance, in a letter full of tragic stories of horror and massacre, he goes on to record how "a poor wailing British child, found exposed on the banks of the Jumna,

[1] Smith, Vol. II. p. 320.

beyond Delhi, by a fakir or religious devotee, was taken up by him and brought to Kurnal, after being carefully nursed and cherished for several days." Moreover, his enthusiasm for the British Raj, which never wavered all his life, was not, so far as one can judge, the outcome of an unquestioning racial patriotism but was based on a conviction of the ideal ends for which the Raj in his view existed. On May 16th he wrote :

> If there be a general rising,—as any day may be—the probability is that not a single European life will anywhere escape the universal and indiscriminate massacre. But my own hope is in the God of Providence. I have a secret, confident persuasion that, though this crisis has been permitted to humble and warn us, our work in India has not yet been accomplished—and that until it be accomplished, our tenure of empire, however brittle, is secure.[1]

Later, when the failure of the Mutiny had become plain, he writes :

> Amid our personal sorrows and horror at the barbarities of the misguided sepoys and their allies, we, as Christians, have much need to watch our own spirits, lest the longing for retribution may swallow up the feeling of mercy. Already we begin to perceive here a recoil and reaction against the natives generally. But, as Christians, ought we not to lay it to heart that the men who have been guilty of such outrages against humanity have been so just because they never came under the regenerating, softening, mellowing influences of the gospel of grace and salvation ? And their diabolical conduct, instead of being an argument against further labour and liberality in attempting to evangelize this land, ought to furnish one of the most powerful arguments in favour of enhanced labour and liberality." [2]

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 316-17.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 326.

The Mutiny brought to Duff the great sorrow of the death of Sir Henry Lawrence, whom he had learned to know intimately and for whose personal character he had a profound admiration. Sir Henry Havelock, another Mutiny hero, he mourned also, though he had not known him as he did Lawrence. Of the thirty-five missionaries and members of missionary families who were killed in the massacres none were closely connected with Duff except perhaps Mr and Mrs Hunter, Scottish missionaries in the north of India. But of the Indians who suffered, one of the most notable was his own third convert, Gopinath Nundi. He was working as an Indian missionary at Fatehpur when the disturbances broke out. He was sent to Allahabad in charge of the Christian womenfolk of Fatehpur, and with his own wife and children. Allahabad was in the hands of the rebels when he reached it, and for days he was kept in prison, maltreated and threatened with mutilation and death if he would not profess Islam. Both he and his wife exhibited the utmost fortitude and calmness, ministered to fellow-victims including an Englishman in the jail, and even when beaten and fastened in the stocks never lost their quietness and confidence. They survived till after the relief of Allahabad, but not long afterwards died, though they lived long enough to reorganize the Church at Fatehpur.

The Indian Protestant Christians numbered in 1857 roughly one hundred and fifty thousand. There were cases of apostasy, as there have been in all ages when widespread persecution falls suddenly on a large body of men and women, but it is plain from the records that few had anticipated that a

Church, so largely recruited from the lowest strata of society, with poor physique and few of the traditions of clan-pride which are more usually the possession of the higher castes, would exhibit so great constancy and courage. The Mutiny was not anti-Christian in its essence, but the Indian Christians were very often seized as being in league with the foreigners, and offered their freedom if they would renounce their faith. The penalty was death, and for women, violation as well as death. The Indian Church did not fail to add its little band to the roll of the martyrs.

We turn now to the record of Duff's last years in India. While he was on furlough in Scotland he was informed by Dr Mackay, his colleague in Calcutta, of the decision of the well-known Dutt family (the poetess Toru Dutt is perhaps the best known to European readers) to become Christians. They ranked very high in the estimation of Indian society, and were perhaps the most notable fruits of the educational movement initiated by Duff. In other ways he found the work to which his life was devoted progressing most hopefully. With the money raised in Europe and America a new college was built—the Duff College—to take the place of the temporary abode in which the Institution had been housed since the Disruption, and here, as in earlier days, people of all kinds came to inspect his methods and study his work.

A steady stream of educated converts flowed in, not only Hindu but also some Mohammedans, and Indian Christian workers were trained and sent out as teachers and ordained missionaries. A conspicuous forward move was made in regard to the

education of women. We have more than once referred to Duff's enthusiasm for this cause. Efforts to establish schools for caste girls had so far failed, but now the effects of Duff's educational policy among the men of the Hindu community began to be apparent. Educated Bengalis were found who were willing to send their daughters to a missionary school. Duff had begun by encouraging the carrying on of zenana work, and when this had been established and women missionaries were being received into Hindu households to teach the women and girls, the most experienced of them was made head of a girls' school, which went on with increasing success and influence.

Duff's influence in Calcutta society was further shown by an invitation to him to become president of the Bethune Society, a body formed for discussion of subjects of general interest, to the exclusion of religion. The society had languished for some time, and Duff on being invited to preside over it desired to know how rigorously the exclusion of religious topics was pressed. He was informed that "natural theology" could be included, and that references to Christianity and Christian individuals were not prohibited. His presidency was a time of revival for the society, which became the intellectual centre of Calcutta, and gave Duff once more the kind of platform he loved, where he could treat in the broadest possible way the great themes of human life and the governance of the world to which his mind continually recurred.

Some time was given to the establishment in Bengal of the work of the society for spreading Christian vernacular literature, a vital cause which even to

the present day has never received the attention it deserves. Duff's own life-work had lain in the direction of English and higher education, but, as has already been noted, he had always believed intensely in vernacular education. He now astonished some of the keener advocates of this society by the earnestness he showed in furthering the work.

The main task, however, to which he devoted himself during this latter period of his Indian career, apart from his immediate missionary duties, was the establishment and guidance of Calcutta University, one of the fruits of the Dispatch of 1854. As soon as he returned to India in 1856 he was nominated by the Governor-General to the Commission which drew up the constitution of the University, and he made it his particular charge to see that the provisions of the "grant-in-aid" system were fairly and impartially carried into effect. It would have been appropriate that one to whom the very existence of higher education in Bengal was so highly indebted should have been the first Vice-Chancellor of the University in 1863. He was in fact offered the post. The Viceroy, Lord Elgin, who was ex-officio Chancellor of the University, first asked Sir Charles Trevelyan, who had returned to India as Finance Member, to accept the Vice-Chancellorship, but Trevelyan would not accept until the honour had first been offered to Duff. His letter is worth quoting :—

My dear Dr Duff,

I have written to Sir R. Napier requesting that he will submit to the Governor-General my strong recommendation that you should be appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University, and entirely disclaiming

the honour on my part if there should have been any idea of appointing me. It is yours by right, because you have borne without rest or refreshment the burden and heat of the long day, which I hope is not yet near its close; and, what concerns us all more, if given to you it will be an unmistakable public acknowledgment of the paramount claims of national education, and will be a great encouragement to every effort that may be made for that object.

Very sincerely yours,
CHARLES TREVELYAN.[1]

Trevelyan's hopes were to be disappointed. Duff was not yet an old man, but the terrific pace at which he had lived his life and the incessant and varied labour he had undertaken had begun to tell upon him in a way that could not be mistaken. He had been pressed again and again by Church leaders in Scotland to return and take up the task of stimulating once more the missionary zeal of the Church. He would not consent until dysentery in July 1863 again prostrated him, and after a sea voyage to China, undertaken in the hope of final recovery, he accepted the fact that his days of service in India (though by no means for India) were over. Mrs Duff had already been forced to leave India. The climate had tried her terribly. "We have never been able to afford night *punkah-wallahs*, but your mother and I are getting on in life, and it is an absolute necessity to have them," [2] Duff had written only recently to his youngest son in Scotland. But not even this "luxury" could make up for the years of hard work and the long struggle to make ends meet which Mrs Duff had braved. The quiet housekeeper

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 384.
[2] *Memorials of Alexander Duff*, by his son, p. 24.

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in Cornwallis Square—of whom we get very rare glimpses, "leading the singing" at a service or presiding over the Saturday morning breakfasts at which the Duffs entertained their guests—went home to Scotland only a few months, as it happened, before her husband realized that he also must leave India. He communicated his decision to Edinburgh and began to make ready to depart.

On all sides, Indian and European, Government and unofficial, Christian and Hindu, there became manifest the most spontaneous desire to do honour to the man who had spent himself for India. A representative committee was formed to devise an adequate memorial of him, and it was resolved to erect in the centre of the University quarter of Calcutta a building (a replica of the Maison Carrée of Nîmes) whose marble hall "was to be used for and to symbolise the Catholic pursuit of truth" for which Duff had always stood.[1] Duff scholarships were endowed in the University, one to be held by a student of his own Institution, one by a student of the Eurasian College, and others were open to all the arts colleges affiliated to the University. The Bethune Society and the Doveton College obtained portraits in oil, and Duff's own students placed a marble bust of their teacher in the hall of his college.

Some of his Scottish merchant friends offered him the sum of £11,000 as a personal gift. He resolved to devote the capital at his death to a fund for invalided missionaries of the Free Church, living on the interest during his own lifetime. The only gift he would accept as a personal possession was that of a house in Edinburgh.

[1] Smith, Vol. II. p. 385.

Of the valedictory addresses and messages of farewell which came to Duff from every section of Calcutta society we have no space to write adequately. Something may be quoted from the words of Sir Henry Maine, the famous student of social institutions, who filled the Vice-Chancellor's chair that Duff's illness and retirement had denied to him, and of Bishop Cotton, the Anglican Bishop of Calcutta.

Sir Henry Maine said :

It would be easy for me to enumerate the direct services which he rendered to us by aiding us with unflagging assiduity, in the regulation, supervision, and amendment of our course of study ; but in the presence of so many native students and native gentlemen who viewed him with the intensest regard and admiration, although they knew that his everyday wish and prayer was to overthrow their ancient faith, I should be ashamed to speak of him in any other character than the only one which he cared to fill—the character of a missionary. Regarding him then as a missionary, the qualities in him which most impressed me—and you will remember that I speak of nothing except what I myself observed—were first of all his absolute self-sacrifice and self-denial. Religions, so far as I know, have never been widely propagated, except by two classes of men—by conquerors or by ascetics. The British Government of India has voluntarily (and no doubt wisely) abnegated the power which its material force conferred upon it, and, if the country be ever converted to the religion of the dominant race, it will be by influences of the other sort, by the influence of missionaries of the type of Dr Duff. Next I was struck—and here we have the point of contact between Dr Duff's religious and educational life—by his perfect faith in the harmony of truth. I am not aware that he ever desired the University to refuse instruction in any subject of knowledge because he considered it dangerous. Where men of feebler minds or weaker faith would have shrunk from encouraging the study of this or that classical language, because it enshrined the archives of some

antique superstition, or would have refused to stimulate proficiency in this or that walk of physical science, because its conclusions were supposed to lead to irreligious consequences, Dr Duff, believing his own creed to be true, believed also that it had the great characteristic of truth —that characteristic which nothing else except truth possesses—that it can be reconciled with everything else which is also true. Gentlemen, if you only realize how rare this combination of qualities is—how seldom the energy which springs from religious conviction is found united with perfect fearlessness in encouraging the spread of knowledge, you will understand what we have lost through Dr Duff's departure, and why I place it among the foremost events in the University year.[1]

Bishop Cotton said of him :

It was the special glory of Alexander Duff that, arriving here in the midst of a great intellectual movement of a completely atheistical character, he at once resolved to make that character Christian. When the new generation of Bengalis, and too many, alas ! of their European friends and teachers were talking of Christianity as an obsolete superstition, soon to be burnt up in the pyre on which the creeds of the Brahman, the Buddhist and the Mohammedan were already perishing, Alexander Duff suddenly burst upon the scene, with his unhesitating faith, his indomitable energy, his varied erudition, and his never-failing stream of fervid eloquence, to teach them that the Gospel was not dead or sleeping, not the ally of ignorance or error, not ashamed or unable to indicate its claims to universal reverence ; but that then, as always, the Gospel of Christ was marching forward in the van of civilization, and that the Church of Christ was still "the light of the world." The effect of his fearless stand against the arrogance of infidelity has lasted to this day ; and whether the number he has baptized is small or great (some there are among them whom we all know and honour) it is quite certain that the work he did in India can never be undone, unless we, whom he leaves behind, are faithless to his example." [2]

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 393-4.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 394-5.

Some words of Duff himself, in his address replying to the Bethune Society's farewell memorial, may fittingly close the record of his life in India.

Whether my days be few or many, whether my old age be one of decrepitude or of privileged usefulness, my best and latest thoughts will be still of India. Wherever I wander, wherever I roam; wherever I labour, wherever I rest, my heart will be still in India. So long as I am in this tabernacle of clay I shall never cease, if permitted by a gracious Providence, to labour for the good of India; my latest breath will be spent in imploring blessings on India and its people. And when at last this frail mortal body is consigned to the silent tomb, while I myself think that the only fitting epitaph for my tombstone would be —"Here lies Alexander Duff, by nature and practice a simple guilty creature, but saved by grace, through faith in the blood and righteousness of his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,"—were it, by others, thought desirable that any addition should be made to this sentence, I would reckon it my highest earthly honour should I be deemed worthy of appropriating the grandly generous words, already suggested by the exuberant kindness of one of my oldest native friends, in some such form as follows: "By profession a missionary; by his life and labours, the true and constant friend of India." [1]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 392.

## CHAPTER XIII

### LAST YEARS

### 1864–1878

On this last journey from India, Duff went by what was still the usual route, that by the Cape, and spent some time in South Africa. He was specially commissioned by the Foreign Missions Committee of the Free Church to study the existing missions in South Africa and the opportunities for extension.

He left India on December 20th, 1863, and by the middle of February was in the midst of the Moravian missions at Genadenthal, eighty miles to the east from Cape Town. As was always his custom, he went to see mission work of every ecclesiastical type, and was much pleased with some of the Dutch Reformed leaders whom he met. His own official visitation began at Lovedale, the principal mission station of the Free Church of Scotland in South Africa, and from there he progressed through Basutoland, the Orange Free State and by Maritzburg to Port Natal, whence he sailed to Cape Town, and shortly after left for home, reaching Edinburgh in August of the same year. The experience he gained in this short tour was invaluable to him as responsible head henceforth of the Missions of the Free Church, and his policy in extending the work of the missions in Africa was largely based on what he saw on this tour.

It is interesting to note that while in the Colony

he met Bishop Gray, the antagonist of the famous Bishop Colenso, at the time when the controversy regarding the latter was at its height. Gray was a High Churchman, and Duff had a strong dislike for the sacerdotal theory of the ministry, but in this case the Free Church convictions of the Scotsman overcame the anti-sacerdotalism, and he warmly commended Gray's stand against the claim that the Privy Council could decide questions of Church right. On the actual question at issue, that of Biblical criticism, Duff was entirely on the side of Gray, the Metropolitan, and entirely against Bishop Colenso, the liberal theologian. We shall have occasion later, in regard to the famous controversy in Scotland regarding the views of Professor Robertson Smith, to notice the way in which Duff's usual breadth of intellectual sympathy deserted him on this particular issue.

From now until almost the end of his life Duff was to be Convener of the Foreign Missions Committee of his Church, that is, under the Presbyterian system, the chairman of the Committee and the man responsible to the Assembly for defending and expounding the Committee's policy. He was already something of a legend in Scotland—almost any book of Scottish biography dealing with this period contains stories of and references to Duff which indicate the familiar place he held in men's minds—and he had consequently a great opportunity of developing the kind of bold policy that his heart had always longed for, and of which even the considerable missionary endeavours of the Free Church, " that energetic body " as Livingstone called it, fell far short.

The first of the new missions of which he was the

instigator, in whole or part, was that to the Gonds, an aboriginal tribe in Central India. In 1869 he was able to initiate a long-desired mission in the country of the Santals in Western Bengal. He had been interested many years earlier in this primitive and attractive people, and the mission founded now proved one of the most successful conducted by the Scottish Church. In the north-west corner of the Nizam's Dominions of Hyderabad, at Jalna, a model Christian community sprang up under the leadership of an Indian pastor, Narayan Sheshadri, warmly backed by Duff, and became a centre of influence among a large population for many miles around. It has maintained its character for enterprise in the practical interpretation of Christianity to this day, and is now one of the centres where the working of agricultural co-operative credit societies, organized by the mission and the Indian Christians, may best be studied.

With the growth of the missions it was necessary to face building costs, and Duff set about raising a capital sum of £50,000. It was not work he liked but he undertook it, and successfully, so that the missions in the new fields were adequately equipped with schools, preaching halls and houses for the workers. He had the pleasure also, as Convener, of welcoming from Madras precisely the proposal he had himself earnestly advocated years before in Bengal, namely for the fusion of the educational ventures of several missionary societies. The Madras Christian College, the result of this combined effort in Madras, has a record second probably to no missionary institution in the world for the scope and range of its influence.

As ever, his interest in India went out to all things Indian and he gave much time and energy to the affairs of the Anglo-Indian Evangelization Society. He was also in continual correspondence with his innumerable friends in India, and Indian friends in Britain, on matters bearing on India from every point of view. But as head of the Church's missionary work he had to give his mind not only to India but to other fields. Fresh stations were opened near the borders of Zululand, the Kaffrarian work was consolidated, and the Gordon Memorial Mission in Kaffraria was launched. The last undertaking was particularly near to Duff's heart. He had on previous visits to Scotland become an intimate friend of the Aberdeen family, and when the son of Lord Aberdeen, J. H. H. Gordon, a fine example of the scholar, athlete, and saint, who had desired to go to Africa as a missionary, was killed in his room at Cambridge by a rifle-accident, the parents determined to found a mission in Africa as a memorial of their son.

These were the days of Livingstone's dramatic journeys, and the popular interest in Africa was greater than it had ever been. New mission stations followed the explorer's tracks, and when in September, 1859, Livingstone beheld the great Lake Nyassa, he had in his company the man who later became a famous missionary—"Stewart of Lovedale." It was generally agreed that the shores of the Lake afforded the ideal base for a mission to the peoples of Central Africa, and when Duff, a few years later, took charge, the Livingstonia Mission was launched. It is a characteristic story told of Duff that when the first party of missionaries, artisans, doctors and

ministers, left the London Docks, Duff, who was conducting a farewell service on the boat, was so oblivious of the passage of time that the steamer was well on its way down the Thames before he could be got ashore.

And, before we leave Africa, let this sentence from a letter written to Stewart in 1877, not long before Duff's death, be quoted :

> Livingstonia is virtually your own mission, and, humanly speaking, the success of the future will depend much, under God, on the wisdom with which the foundations are now solidly laid. I wish I could join you for a year, if it were only to cheer by sympathy and hearty earnestness in seeing the outward prosperity of the work.[1]

Duff, however, was far from being the sort of missionary leader whose idea of advance is merely to extend the area of operations. He believed in quality, and he advanced a three-fold scheme for the improvement of the training of missionaries and of the knowledge and understanding of missionary problems in the Church at home. His plan was to establish a Missionary Professorship in the theological colleges, a Missionary Institute, and a Missionary Quarterly Review.

There are few points in Duff's career which show the range of his ambition for the missionary cause, and the penetration of his insight, more than these plans he put forward. None of them—except one, for a short time—were realized in fact, and it is probable that the time had not come for their fulfilment. But anyone who recollects the missionary

[1] Smith, Vol. II. p. 461.

outlook of the World Missionary Conference held at Edinburgh in 1910 will realize in how many ways Duff would have been far more at home there than he was in his own generation, and in how many ways his ideas coincided with the views of that Conference —a gathering which has shown itself the beginning of a new epoch in missionary work.

Duff's scheme for a Review is an excellent illustration of his far-sightedness. It has been left for the *International Review of Missions* to fulfil what Duff hoped to do in his own day. Plans were laid, and Canon Tristram was to be the editor of a journal supported by writers and subscribers from all the Churches. Somehow support was not forthcoming, and the Quarterly fell through. But it was a true instinct that led to the plan. It is even now true, and it was far more true in the time of Duff, that not nearly enough of the abler thought and intelligence of the Christian Church is applied to the cause of missions. Duff continually combated the idea that missionaries were a low, ill-educated and fanatical set, and he invariably took the high line, that the missionary enterprise lay at the very heart of the Gospel, and ought to enlist the ablest and most experienced men. He urged also that the very difficulty and complexity of the problems faced by the missionaries demanded the application of the finest intelligence of the Church. It was not understood then, as indeed it is not understood to-day, that issues of the highest importance in regard to education, the changing of the structure of society, and the development of the Church, are raised every day by the work of the most ordinary missionary. A Review which would do for the missionary cause the kind

of service which the great Quarterlies perform for literature, science, art, religion, politics and sociology, focussing the best thought of different countries and different Churches, is the kind of instrument needed, and though it has been left until the most recent years to achieve it, it is a striking tribute to Duff's imagination that he should have conceived and actually planned the enterprise.

In his scheme for the training of missionaries and his plans for a Missionary Institute, Duff was quite definitely influenced by the example of the College of the Propaganda at Rome. From that College missionaries go out to all parts of the world in the vast and far-flung missionary army of the Roman Catholic Church. Duff liked to think of a "nursery of evangelists" like Iona of old, whence the whole Protestant mission field could be furnished with trained workers. He was right in his insistence on training, and every year that has passed has made the necessity for it more apparent. He was almost certainly wrong in his idea of an Institute which should segregate the men and the women destined for work abroad.

There is a place for specialization, but it would be dangerous to specialize so early and so completely that a missionary training had few points of contact with training for work at home. Much of what is needed—training, for instance, in the principles and practice of education—is provided more adequately in non-missionary institutions than it ever can be in purely missionary training colleges. But Duff raised the challenge to the Church that it ought to train its missionaries, and the fact that his proposed Institute did not come into being and would not

improbably have been a mistake, ought not to obscure the essential importance of the issue he put forward. As the years have gone on, the importance of the quality of missionary personnel has become even clearer than it was to him. With the growth in power and effectiveness of the Church in the mission field it becomes a matter of urgency that those who are sent to help it should be carefully and adequately trained. Here again the challenge put forward by Duff is finding an answer to-day, and probably more thought is being given to the equipment of missionaries in Britain, America and the Continent of Europe than ever before. But if the Church of his day, and especially the Christian educationists of his day, had had anything like the vision of Duff, we should not be, as we are, still searching for adequate solution of the problems he raised.

The Missionary Professorship of Evangelistic Theology did actually come into being. Duff pleaded eloquently for it before the General Assembly.

> When passing through the theological curriculum of St Andrews [he said], I was struck markedly with this circumstance, that throughout the whole course of the curriculum of four years not one single allusion was ever made to the subject of the world's evangelization—the subject which constitutes the chief end of the Christian Church on earth. I felt intensely that there was something wrong in this omission. According to any just conception of the Church of Christ, the grand function it has to discharge in this world cannot be said to begin and end in the preservation of internal purity of doctrine, discipline and government. All this is merely for burnishing it so as to be a lamp to give light, not to itself only but also to the world. . . . Years afterwards, on the banks of the Ganges, we heard that this Free

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Church had determined to set up its Hall of theology. . . . and that besides the ordinary theological chairs, there were to be chairs of Natural Science, Logic and Moral Philosophy, all demanded by the peculiar necessities of the times. I could not help feeling that now was the time for advancing a step further, and on the spur of the moment was led to write to Dr Gordon that this was the time and occasion for setting up a chair for Missions,—in short, a Missionary Professorship. [1]

Duff's enormous popularity carried the scheme to immediate fruition. £10,000 was subscribed, and the Assembly of 1867, much against his will, elected Duff as first Missionary Professor. He was apparently reconciled to this in part by the fact that he could save the whole of the salary towards the cherished Missionary Institute, for he never accepted any more personal emoluments than came to him from the fund raised by his Calcutta friends.

It has to be said frankly that the scheme for the missionary professorship was a failure. Duff himself was out of his *métier* as a lecturer to theological students in Scotland. He was getting old, and with age his lengthiness of speech increased, while he had not the ability now to lay out the kind of lecture scheme which would attract the keener minds of the younger generation. It is said that Duff's winter session began with lectures on the unchangeable decrees of God before the foundation of the world, and that by the end of the second term he had just reached the New Testament. Others who held the Chair seem to have fallen victim to the same devastating comprehensiveness of mind, and the Professorship became an occasional lectureship, and is now merged in another Chair.

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 417-18.

Duff's friends and relatives seem to have felt somewhat keenly this departure from the terms of the original gift, but it is plain from many indications that an unbiased observer could hardly pronounce the original scheme a success. It did not achieve what its author desired.

Here again, the thing which Duff wanted was the right thing. It is still true to-day that a man may pass through many of the theological colleges of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales without receiving, apart from agencies of a voluntary and private nature, any worthy impression of the nature, importance and urgency of the cause of world-wide evangelization. Still less probably do they receive any detailed instruction in the elements of the problem. The way tentatively sought in Scotland was the establishment of a Missionary Professorship, and the Professor was chosen from among veteran missionaries who proved unable, as might have been expected, to relate their teaching to the rest of the curriculum or to the minds of their pupils. But the problem which Duff saw and tried to solve still remains, and still cries for solution for the sake of the home ministry as well as of the embryo missionary. What is needed is a method whereby the data provided by the mission field can be related to the usual subjects, such as Church History or the growth of Doctrine, which form a regular part of a theological curriculum. Perhaps the exporting of theological professors to India temporarily, on the American plan of the "Sabbatic year," might better achieve Duff's end than his own plan of importing veteran missionaries into the theological colleges.

During these latter years of his life, when Duff

had become one of the outstanding leaders of the Free Church, few questions touched his heart more nearly than that of the reunion of the scattered fragments of Scottish Presbyterianism. His own utterances on the Disruption of 1843 make it abundantly clear that he was not a schismatic, and his experiences in India where, even with the deplorable divisions which exist among missionary organizations, there is a far greater degree of real unity than obtains at home, had made him an ardent friend of any cause which set out to unite the different groups of Christ's flock —or rather, it would be more accurate to say, the evangelical Churches, for he had a life-long suspicion and almost horror of Rome, and no sympathy with Anglo-Catholicism.

Duff was therefore ardently on the side of those who were working for the union of the Free Church with the smaller bodies which had at an earlier date seceded from the Church of Scotland. This is not the place to enter even in outline upon the long controversy which arose over this union question. Those Free Churchmen—an influential minority—who opposed it did so on the ground that the other seceding bodies were opposed in principle to establishment, whereas the Free Church in seceding had not questioned the abstract propriety of establishment, but left the existing establishment as incompatible with spiritual freedom. Duff's attitude on this issue is very similar to that of many to-day who feel that the great common task of the Church should dwarf into insignificance many of the a priori ecclesiastical arguments used against union. He never lost the sense of the great unevangelized world without, in utter need of that Gospel which all the warring sections held as a trust.

The arguments and tactics of some of the anti-union leaders moved him to wrath, not always silent. A letter from Dr Rainy, at this time the leader of the Free Church, to a friend giving a sketch of the attitude of different Church dignitaries to the union question contains this remark: "Duff eased his mind to me to-day about B——'s *tone*. He said he would not say what he thought of it, but ultimately classed it with the speeches of a certain assemblage in *Paradise Lost*!"

By 1873 the controversy had become so bitter that it was manifest to all parties that only a compromise could avert another secession. Duff had taken his own definite line on the question, but his influence over all sections of the Church was so great that he was unanimously invited to be for the second time Moderator over the Assembly at which it was hoped a solution of the problem might be found. He was now an old man, and it was only after long hesitation and the most anxious heart-searching that he agreed to the request. In the event, union was shelved, but it was determined that ministers from the United Presbyterian Church (the body with which it had been proposed to unite) should be eligible to be "called" to the charge of Free Church congregations, and vice versa.

Duff's addresses as Moderator at this Assembly were published under the title "The World-Wide Crisis." They were only partially delivered, but even so they occupied many hours. As in his college lectures, foreign missions were traced into the counsels of eternity, and at the end of the first hour the orator had only reached some point in the Old Testament dispensation. Whereat, we are informed,

a very eminent ecclesiastic of the day, unable to bear more, dashed out of the hall, saying as he passed the door-keeper, "Let me out, or I'll go mad!" Duff himself was unable to carry his address through without a pause in the middle for rest and refreshment, after which he returned to conclude his argument. Yet, while there are many indications that the increasing prolixity of old age caused many of his younger contemporaries to regard him with some impatience, even in this instance he was trying to do what certainly needed to be done. He was setting the temporary struggles of good but short-sighted men in the setting of the eternal purpose of God, and this fact is acknowledged in the *Spectator's* account of the Assembly, where the address is called "a plea for a true conception of Church work by comparison with the trifle which engrossed his auditors."

On another Church issue—in the event one of the most far-reaching importance—Duff took somewhat vigorously a conservative line, and one which was out of keeping with what was most vital in his earlier attitude to truth. We refer to the "Robertson Smith case." William Robertson Smith was one of the ablest scholars who have ever written and spoken the English tongue. He had been appointed Professor, at an early age, in the Free Church College at Aberdeen, and in a series of articles in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* on Biblical subjects had for the first time in Scotland expressed the critical views as to the structure of the Old Testament and the authorship of its books, which have now been satisfactorily assimilated into the thought of the Church. Smith was arraigned before the

Assembly for holding views incompatible with his position as a teacher of theology, and the controversy, which educated the whole of Scotland in the merits of the question, ended in the Professor being, for reasons of expediency, removed from his Chair although the accusation of heresy was not pressed. It will be recollected that Duff in the Colenso case had taken very strongly the side of Bishop Gray, and now in the very last years of his life he took even more strongly the side of Robertson Smith's accusers. He spoke to his friends of "the mischievous questionings of carnal reason," and held that while he would not be exercised at the appearance of such views outside the Church, they should not be suffered within it. His daughter records the fact that he was even desirous, had he not been frail and invalid in health, to go round the Church on a crusade against the new views, as he had done in former years on the question of missions.

His mind turned continually in these later years of his life to the India of his youth and prime. He was a lonely man in the end of his days, for his wife, who met him when he landed after leaving India for the last time, died six months afterwards. His old friends began to be taken from him. He heard with sorrow of the death of Sir Henry Durand who had been his intimate friend ever since that first adventurous voyage in the *Lady Holland*. Bishop Cotton of Calcutta passed away, and Duff wrote a warm tribute to him. India was ever in his thoughts. The famine in Bengal moved him deeply; he followed the Indian papers to the very end of his life, and while in the affairs of Scottish Church life he had

fallen behind in the march of ideas, he was still appealed to by all kinds of people for help on Indian affairs. When the Prince of Wales was to visit India in 1856 many persons were much exercised lest he should neglect the observance of Sunday on his tour, and Duff, who was appealed to, took steps to lay his views on the question, which were identical with those of men like John and Henry Lawrence, before the Prince's advisers.

A letter written to K. M. Banerjea, his first convert, on whom the University of Calcutta had conferred the degree of LL.D., sheds a pleasant light on the mind of the old man.

*8th June* 1876.

MY DEAR OLD FRIEND,

Though it is now a long time since I have written to you, or heard from you direct, I often hear of you, and constantly, indeed, I may say daily, think of you; as it is my habit to remember, in my humble prayers, among others old Indian friends, and especially those who, like yourself, have been honoured in rendering good service in the cause of our common glorious Lord and Master Jesus Christ. Often, often also when alone—and I am often alone as regards human society—do I recall the singularly stirring days of "auld lang syne," as we say in Scotland, the days of forty-four or forty-five years ago! To think of them, and of the mighty changes since, often affords the greatest solace and encouragement to my own spirits.

. . . . I cannot let this mail leave without writing, however meagrely and briefly, to congratulate you on your well-merited University honour at last. The late Bishop Cotton used to confer with me about it, and we both lamented that the door was not then open. Since returning to this country, I again and again thought of applying to one of our Scottish Universities on the subject, and some obstacle or other always came in the

way. I therefore now rejoice the more on that account, that it has come to you in a way so natural and in every respect so honourable. Long may you still survive, my dear friend, to enjoy it. . . . May the Lord bless you more and more.

Yours affectionately,
ALEXANDER DUFF.[1]

On April 26th, 1876, Duff completed the seventieth year of his life. Not long afterwards he met with a serious accident in his library. He fell from a considerable height to the floor, and severely gashed his head, so that he was confined to his bedroom for some weeks. He seemed to get well, and was actually able to carry out his lecture and other engagements during the winter of 1876-77, but early in March of the latter year he found himself troubled by a tumour near the right ear, and the malady would not leave him but rather grew steadily worse. He had to abandon the Assembly of that year, and also the meeting of the newly-founded Alliance of all the Presbyterian Churches. In the hope of regaining health he went to Patterdale in the English Lakes, an old and beloved resort of his, and later went abroad to Neuenahr. He gained nothing in either place ; jaundice seized him and established hold of his system. He was got back with difficulty to Edinburgh, and then taken in the autumn to Sidmouth in Devonshire, to enjoy the gentler winter there. But it was plain to all his friends that he had not long to live. His son was telegraphed for and arrived from Calcutta in time to see his father. His most intimate friends and relatives gathered round him, and in these last days he gave to them

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 528-9.

in halting and painful conversation some of the most private and precious of the secrets whereby he lived.

Before he left Edinburgh he had written to all the bodies in which he held any office resigning his charges, including the Professorship, and the Convenership of the Foreign Missions Committee. In January 1878, when near the end, he said that it had been his purpose in any case to resign both these offices in the following May, as he would then have reached the jubilee of his missionary life. Then, being free from all official cares, he would have devoted himself to a last campaign, "to try and rouse the people of Scotland to a sense of the paramount duty of devoting themselves to the cause of Missions," [1] and to get support for the cherished project of the Missionary Training Institute.

> If I saw this accomplished, or a solid prospect of its being soon accomplished [he said], I should feel, as far as my humble judgment could discern, that my work on earth to promote the glory and honour of my blessed Saviour was completed, and would be ready to exclaim with old Simeon, "Now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace." But if all this were to be unexpectedly unhinged, and a totally different course in Providence opened up, I was equally ready and willing to submit to any change which He in His infinite wisdom, goodness and love might be pleased to indicate.[2]

He was able to give instructions about the sending of gifts to his friends, choosing for some of them particular volumes from his library. Numerous messages of love and sympathy came from many of

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 534. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 535.

those who in India or Scotland had worked with him, and he gained enough strength for a while to be able to reply to them. Each day, however, he grew steadily weaker, and on the 12th February, 1878, he passed very peacefully away, in the seventy-second year of his age.

The body was taken to Edinburgh, where round the grave of the missionary there gathered together a marvellous assembly. All the Churches were there, all the missionary societies, the Universities, the learned societies, and a great host of the godly humble folk who knew that a great Christian and a great Scotsman was being laid to his rest. Innumerable tributes were paid to him in the press, and in pulpits and on platforms all over the land. Here are the words in which Mr Gladstone paid his homage :

> Providential guidance and an admonition from within, a thirst and appetite not addressed to the objects which this world furnishes and provides, and an ambition—if I may so say—of a very different quality from the commodity ordinarily circulated under that name, but something irrepressible, something mysterious and invisible, prompted and guided this remarkable man to the scene of his labours. Upon that scene he stands in competition, I rejoice to think, with many admirable, holy, saintly men, . . . I am glad to think that from the bosom of the Church of England there went forth men like Bishop Selwyn and Bishop Patteson, bearing upon their labours a very heroic and apostolic stamp. But I rejoice not less unfeignedly to recollect that they have competitors and rivals in that noble race of the Christian warfare, among whom Dr Duff is one of the most eminent. . . . He is one of the noble army of the confessors of Christ. Let no one envy them the crown which they have earned. Let every man, on the contrary, knowing that they now stand in the

presence and in the judgment of Him before Whom we must all appear, rejoice that they have fought a good fight, that they have run their race manfully and nobly, and that they have laboured for the glory of God and the good of man.[1]

[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. II. p. 542.

## CHAPTER XIV

### THE CHRISTIAN EDUCATIONIST

It has been said that it would be possible to write the history of Indian education by giving the lives of three Scottish missionaries. Certainly it is true that one cannot enter upon an estimate of the life-work of a man like Alexander Duff without taking into account the whole educational fabric which grew up under his hand as the result of his influence. His missionary career is indissolubly knit up with the genesis and diffusion of education in Bengal and indeed in all India. While he was first and foremost a Christian missionary, his special characteristic, as such, was his consistent defence of his choice of the school and college as his instrument, and it is necessary therefore to attempt some estimate of the success of that system of education which he helped to create, both in its missionary form and in its wider manifestations in the country at large.

Nothing more clearly demonstrates the great change which has in recent years passed over the face of India than the difference between the language which Trevelyan, or Macaulay, or Duff himself, used about education, and that which any Government or missionary educator, if he be a man of enlightened vision, would use to-day. Or, to take another contrast, can anyone conceive a prominent Indian patriot to-day in his zeal for education em-

ploying the kind of language which Ram Mohan Roy uses in his letter to Government ? [1] Almost nobody is satisfied with the educational methods which are current to-day ; the air is full of questioning and criticism and debate ; some of the most interesting and valuable educational experiments in modern India stand altogether outside the system of " recognized " education ; and many people question the very foundation on which the 1835 reformers based everything, namely, the use of English as a medium. To read Macaulay's confident and somewhat extravagant language or Duff's unhesitating and sweeping condemnation of Indian learning and culture is like stepping into another world.

How far then can it be said that the system for which Duff was so largely responsible has proved a success ?

Of the many points which are urged in defence of the existing system we shall here consider four : the unifying effect of a common language ; the effects of contact with the learning and enlightenment of the Western nations ; the growth of nationalism ; the diffusion of Christian moral and spiritual ideas.

The educational problem in India is radically affected, as it is not in China or Japan, by the existence of several languages, each spoken by millions, and in some cases separated by a very great linguistic gulf. We are not speaking here of the little languages, dignified by that title in Census returns, spoken by a handful of people in the upland valleys of the Himalayas. We are thinking of Bengali, Hindî, Urdu, Tamil, Telugu, and the other

[1] See pp. 93-4.

greater languages. It is a fact which cannot be gainsaid that the only medium of communication in India to-day, for *all* educated men, is English. Before the advent of English there was no such medium, although certain languages were much more widely spoken than others. It is possible to argue that some one of these tongues could have become a universal Indian language, and efforts are even to-day being made to further the claims of Hindi or of Urdu to be the language of India as a whole. It is to be doubted whether such an effort could be successful, for it would have ranged against it forces both of race and religion. To-day not many will refuse to admit that as an educated *lingua franca* English has come to stay.

A common language, however, is only useful if the ideas and conceptions which can be conveyed by it are valuable, and it is on this point that the defenders of English education in India make their stand. There is a whole world of culture (using that word in its broadest and truest sense) which can best be studied through the medium of English. It is true that in no branch of learning can a man be completely efficient if he knows English only, but we are not dealing here with expert knowledge, and in any case French and German were not competitors for the favour of the 1835 leaders. The controversy, as Duff and his friends repeatedly asserted, lay between the ancient Indian culture and the civilization and thought of Western Christendom.

We shall urge at a later point the elements in this problem which were overlooked by the reformers; here we are concerned simply with the permanent

gain to India which came from the diffusion of English education. Can it be seriously denied that there has been real and solid gain ? The nineteenth century has its detractors, but they are mostly men who do not compare too favourably with the giants whose age they decry. Not only did the Macaulay policy open to India the treasures of thought and language in Shakespeare and Milton and the older masters of the English tongue, but it made India one with that world which was shaken by Darwin and the growth of scientific knowledge, and which was later to see the great upgrowth in Europe of the spirit of nationalism with the Italian Risorgimento and the development of radical thinking about the very foundations of society. It is not necessary to urge, as has often been done with a mistaken exaggeration, that all that is worth knowing in the world is contained in English literature. The salient point is that the most important thought movements of the modern world have taken place in the West, and a cultivated Indian is just as much a citizen of that world as an Englishman, because he is at home in the tongue which is, in fact, the medium of those ideas. It has not been for nothing that the mind of India has for these many years been in intimate contact with what is most vigorous and most universal in the West. Other sides of Western civilization, its somewhat sordid materialism, its militarism, its industrialism, are perhaps more prominently before the eyes of India to-day than the aspects we have mentioned ; to many sincere minds the connection of India with the West seems to have been one long defilement. Yet this cannot be the ultimate judgment. Indians will not forget what

the great scientists, the great social thinkers, the great pioneers of political freedom, have meant to them.

It is from this point of view that it is right to speak of Nationalism as in one sense a result of English education. (By this statement it is not meant to suggest, what is commonly held by Englishmen in India, that the thing vaguely called "sedition" is the offspring of an attempt to "educate the natives." The truth is almost the precise opposite of this view.) An Indian *lingua franca* has made possible a common Indian consciousness, and that consciousness has been filled with the great thoughts of the political pioneers of the West. How can a young man read of the Italian patriots, or study a book like Mill's *On Liberty*, without applying to his own beloved land the ideas he finds there? The language of Indian patriotism to-day, the commonplaces of modern educated Indian thought, would be impossible and unintelligible in the environment of the India of Duff's day, for the consciousness which gave rise to them had not, except in a very few outstanding cases, come to exist. It is a conceivable view, though it cannot appeal to Christian sanctions, that the best thing for foreign rulers to have done in India would be to have denied all education and to have carried on the work of government merely as the preservation of life and property. But to give education, and English education, in the world of modern men, and then to regard the growth of Nationalism as wrong or even as surprising, is incomprehensible. Other influences there are in the structure of Nationalism, but the future it may be confidently predicted will show that contact with the

progressive and liberalizing forces of the West has been of final importance for the whole movement.

What has been said so far is as applicable to the entire area of education in India as to the definitely Christian element in it. It is however the life of a missionary we are considering, and although even in his own lifetime he was regarded by competent judges as the greatest authority on Indian education generally, he himself never concealed his aversion to the purely secular culture of the Government colleges, and attached supreme value to the Christian truths which he was able to disseminate through his schools and colleges. How far has the subsequent history of Christian education borne out Duff's faith in it ?

In mere extent it is remarkable enough. Even to-day about a quarter of the entire education given in India is given in missionary schools and colleges. In Bengal, Madras, Bombay and Lahore great colleges have profoundly influenced the culture and development of entire provinces. In certain departments, notably that of the education of women, the Christian contribution is far out of proportion to that of other communities. Moreover, the general level of literacy in the Indian Christian community, especially when it is remembered how very large a proportion of its members have come from the lowest strata of Indian society, is remarkably high, and the community can boast a large and increasing number of men who occupy posts of public importance and who are able to take an effective part in Indian national life.

In its effect on the Indian people in general, Christian education has had perhaps its largest and deepest results. Duff himself, at the very beginning

of the movement for Christian higher education, did not expect many converts to come into the membership of the Christian Church from his colleges and schools. It is common knowledge that the number of baptisms which are traceable directly to the Christian colleges is very small. But this is not the kind of effect to which the apologist for Christian education would point. He would take a book like Dr Farquhar's *Modern Religious Movements in India*, and ask whence it is that this great convulsion in Indian religious thought has come. He would point to the widespread diffusion of Christian ideas in Indian educated life to-day, and the attempts continually being made, under the influence of Nationalist enthusiasm, to find the counterpart of Christian teaching in the Hindu writings. He would be an optimist who would say that Christianity, as a system of thought, is popular in India to-day, but any careful observer can discern behind the distaste for Western religious forms, both of thought and of practice, a very real absorption in the person and teaching of Jesus Christ. This is a great deal less true of Mohammedan society than of Hindu, but that is to be attributed to the fact that the Mohammedans are precisely the people who have least surrendered themselves to modern education, whether Christian or other.

If proof is asked of this alleged diffusion of Christian influence, it can best be found in the fact that Mr Gandhi, one of the most influential figures India has known, while not himself a Christian and differing in certain important respects from the Christian position, openly and eagerly avows his debt to Christian teaching, and his personal homage to

Christ. The writer was told recently of an incident which illustrates this diffusion of Christian ideas. In a city in the South at a great meeting where the crowd was being enlivened by humorous skits on various eminent persons and religious figures, the humorist began to jest about Christ. Instantly the mood of the crowd changed, and hisses and protests made it clear that jests about that Figure were not regarded as in place—He was too much a reality. It is possible to overstate the extent to which Christian teaching has produced real change in the life of India, and we have to guard against lip-service and against the association with the person of Christ of ideas and views of life which have no place in Him. Nevertheless it remains true that in modern India there is no fact of greater and more permanent importance than the impression which has been made on the mind of India by the person and the teaching of Christ.

To this end many influences have contributed, but none more powerfully than the Christian school and the Christian college. It is somewhat disconcerting for Western travellers, who have never questioned the current view that missionary work is without any influence among Indians of station and power, to find the warm commendation with which prominent non-Christian leaders will speak of missionary education.

The beneficial results of the work that Duff initiated have been dwelt on at some length because in the present situation they are often overlooked, and also because in view of necessary criticisms to be made the perspective of the whole requires to be kept. We have now to look at the other side of the shield.

The gravamen of the modern criticisms directed against the Indian system of education is that, whatever else it may be, it is not a national system. It may be national in the sense of covering the whole of the Indian peninsula, but in no other sense. It is not related to the inner necessities of Indian life and society, it does not fit men and women for the kind of service their country demands of them, it tends to make them un-Indian and to cut them adrift from their proper sources of cultural growth. Educationists deplore the excessively literary character of the curricula in schools and colleges, and urge that the movement in favour of the use of English as the medium of instruction has been pushed much too far.

Let us look at some of these criticisms in detail. It is undoubtedly true that the system of education in India is far too exclusively literary. As we have seen in our study of the early years of Indian education, a dominant consideration with government was always the securing of qualified clerks and other employees for their service. This was the East India Company's policy, and it continued, with the additional inducement that as the work of Government grew by slow degrees more constitutional it was important to have as Government servants men who were in general sympathy with the outlook of Government. But the time came and has long passed when the output of the schools and colleges was fully absorbed in the service of Government in its various grades. There are to-day few more poignant experiences for a missionary educator of sympathy and understanding than that of talking to his pupils about what they are going to do after they leave

College, since the openings which present themselves, and for which the young graduate is fitted, are distressingly few and nearly all of the same type. One familiar result is the over-crowding of the legal profession, which offers to most a probable pittance and a possible competence only to the few. To this should be added the fact that it is on the whole the Brahmins who have taken up education most earnestly, and they have an ancient bias in favour of literary studies. Technical education has been too much neglected, and of the adaptation of elementary education to the needs of a primarily agricultural community there has been hardly a trace.

It is for this reason, in the main, that the other most startling defect in Indian education has sprung up, namely, the great disproportion between the number of pupils undergoing some kind of higher education and the number in elementary schools. Actually the proportion of pupils in secondary schools (in relation to the whole population) is only a trifle less than it is in England, while the proportion of boys (girls' education being relatively backward) is greater : the proportion of the population which is enjoying a University education is correspondingly great, very nearly as great as that of England—greater so far as men are concerned. But the proportion of pupils in the *elementary* schools is very much smaller than in England, or in any other country where education has been taken up by the State and worked on a national scale. The Government Report itself remarks : " Educational funds have come to be concentrated upon meeting the demand of those who perceive the benefits of edu-

cation rather than upon cultivating a desire for education where it does not at present exist." [1]

It is the intelligentsia who have demanded education: an education such as they wanted has been provided, and the market has been overstocked with the product. Meanwhile the task of arousing a desire for education in the masses of the people, and of providing an educational system which would meet their real though unacknowledged needs, was not taken up and is only now being faced.

All these criticisms press us back to the real defect in the system—its lack of relation to the structure of Indian society. For although at the time of the advent of the British power the ancient Indian system of education had fallen on evil days, there had been such a system. It began to disintegrate at the time of the Moguls, and by the time of the 1835 controversy had so far fallen into desuetude that the reformers of that day are to be excused for ignoring it. There was, first, the literary and cultural study which gave its disciples a philosophy of life. It was largely religious, but not exclusively so, and it reared besides Brahmin scholars a number of statesmen in the ancient Indian kingdoms. Next, there was the guild or craft education, which was intimately associated with the caste, so that a young man was taught his trade or profession by his father or a near relative in the atmosphere of what would now be called community service, rather than of competition for a living. With the advent of Western trade and competition Indian industries underwent an eclipse, and by the time of Duff the old state of things had fallen into a condition of corruption which

[1] *India*, 1920, p. 164.

nothing could repair. Third, there was the relation of the individual to his family and clan, the obligations in which he stood to the rest of society, which Hindu society had its own ways of enforcing.[1]

It is possible that the Orientalists in the famous struggle had in the back of their minds some idea that there was a value in the Indian studies apart from their immediate function as media for conveying knowledge: some of them may have felt that there was a balance between the different elements that made up Hindu education which might be destroyed by the new forces which were being unleashed. But they were antiquarian in their outlook. The Anglicists, on the other hand, were far more practical and realist in their attitude. They knew more of the great new forces which were bursting in upon India, and they framed their policy in order as they believed to meet that new day. But they made a break with Indian culture which has since proved to have been far greater than was necessary, and they viewed the Indian treasures of learning almost entirely as inimical to the cause of social and national progress. Macaulay's remarks about Indian learning are not only contemptuous; they are ignorant, for men like Macaulay did not think it worth their while to make a careful and sympathetic study of Indian culture or of the structure of Indian social life. His famous remark, that if the policy he advocated were followed there would not in thirty years be an idolater left in Bengal, illustrates the levity of his mind.

How are we to estimate Duff's responsibility for

[1] In these paragraphs the author is indebted to the writings of Dr S. K. Datta and Mr K. T. Paul in *Young Men of India*.

the lines on which Indian education developed? Undoubtedly his influence was on the whole to the good. In regard to the general question of the importance of Indian learning, it has to be frankly admitted that he was an iconoclast. His friend Wilson of Bombay was an Orientalist as Duff never was. Duff set out to root up Hinduism, and was not afraid to say so. He lived at a time when the scientific study of Hinduism by Western scholars had hardly begun, and he did not know the magnitude, the endurance, the variety, and the inner power of Hinduism as a modern scholar can and should do. His book on Hinduism reveals a point of view which would not be shared to-day by any Indian missionary who had his power of intellect. To say this is only to say that in this respect Duff was not ahead of his time, although in many others he undoubtedly was.

Moreover, he did to some extent identify Christianity with the civilization of Christian countries. He did not like to see his Indian friends outwardly Europeanized, but he did want to see them accommodate themselves to the general type of Christian society as he knew it, and he would not have had much patience with the efforts now being made on all hands to make the whole setting of Christianity in India as Indian as possible, except that he had a strong conviction of the importance of Indian workers.

But there are two important respects in which Duff was completely in line with the modern outlook. He believed intensely in vernacular education. He made Bengali a necessary part of his curriculum for all students, in every way he could he encouraged vernacular schools, and he had definitely in view the ideal that through the labours of Bengalis who had

had a higher education in English, the Bengali tongue might become the medium for widespread and efficient education. In this he was in advance not so much of his own time—for men like Bentinck and Trevelyan undoubtedly agreed—but of later times when a policy of drift set in, and the vital place of the vernaculars was obscured. If Duff had been able effectively to control policy it is unlikely that there would have been, either in Government or in missionary schools, the neglect of the vernacular which is on all hands admitted to-day.

The other respect in which Duff saw rightly where others went wrong was in the matter of secular education. He said that a merely secular education would produce spiritual barrenness, and a type of outlook and temper which would be bad for the future of India. Let it be acknowledged that the problem is difficult—that in a country where two great religious communities and several small ones divide men's allegiance, the decision to be made by rulers who want to establish education which shall be religious in temper, is beset by every kind of shoal and quicksand. The secular solution is by far the simplest. But it is alien to the spirit of India. As Duff saw, it set loose mighty destructive forces but it did not build up, and it has done much to make the educational machine a foreign thing in India. Duff took the other line—as a missionary he could do nothing else—and persistently withstood the tide of secularism and upheld the claims of Christ to be the Lord of all life. His work in this direction is valuable not merely for its direct bearing on the extension of Christianity. He showed that education on the basis of religion is better education

than secular education because it is more truly related to the needs of the whole personality.

It is, however, the conviction of the present writer that a discussion of Duff's educational policy does not nearly exhaust his significance for the times in which we live. He was not merely an incarnate policy, but a very vivid personality, and it is by considering the way in which he approached the problems of his own day that we can best learn the lesson of his life for our own time.

It is the more necessary to do this, for it is no longer possible to rest content with the traditional educational missionary policy. The reasons for discontent have been suggested already so far as regards education in general. But for the missionary educator other reasons also exist. No longer is he, like Duff, practically the only occupant of the field. The work of spreading the ideas of modern civilization is being undertaken by a multitude of people—Government educators, private Hindu or Moslem colleges, the press in all its ramifications, travel and all the myriad ways in which international society spreads its influences. The missionary college is one among many, and with the rise in the educational standard and the extension of work, it is only too often the case that educational missionaries find themselves immersed in the routine of administration and lecturing to the virtual exclusion, much against their will, of that for which more than anything else they came to India, namely personal intercourse with individuals.

The supreme object of every missionary, whatever the department of the work to which he is assigned, is to witness in the most effective way he can find

to Jesus Christ. The missionary in India to-day is living in a time of unprecedented opportunity, for with all the racial bitterness and political unsettlement which exist there is an increased vigour of mind and alertness to test and probe anything that presents itself with the stamp of religious reality upon it. His problem is to discover the ways in which he can render an effective and arresting and attractive witness to Jesus Christ.

It is here that Duff is so extraordinarily inspiring. He came to India with no cut and dried ideas as to methods: he knew that he was to take up some form of educational work, and little more. He set to work to study the conditions in which he found himself, and with a very rare combination of insight and courage he seized on a plan and in face of much opposition carried it into practice. He believed in education, but although he has made a permanent mark on Indian education he did not come to India simply to engage in an educational scheme there. He chose to use the instrument of education as the one best suited to his supreme purpose.

It is his chief claim to greatness as a missionary that he insisted on seeing the whole of his problem, and was satisfied with nothing less than an attempt to grapple with it in its entirety. He started his school and later his college, but he never settled down to regard these as ends in themselves. He found that there was a willingness to think about and to discuss Christianity among the students of the Hindu College, so he provided lectures for them. He found that there was need for a good journal to deal with current events from an enlightened standpoint, so he took over the *Calcutta Review*. He realized the

importance of the sisters, wives and mothers of the students he was teaching, so he took a lifelong interest in the education of women. Everywhere we find him on the look out for some real need that he could meet, some fresh way in which he could get men to understand something of the mind and work of Christ.

It is not realized by many of those who quote Duff that his activities were far too many-sided to be held within the confines of a single theory. There is great significance in the fact that his first converts were not members of his college but outsiders from the Hindu College, who had been attracted to him by personal friendship and by the lectures he gave entirely apart from his college work. His immense power of labour enabled him to attempt a multitude of activities, but he was never aimlessly busy, nor lost in a mass of detail in which all meaning and purpose had been lost. Always we can discern the statesman's grasp and outlook. He saw the task as a whole, and the plans he chose were chosen with the entire task in view.

Pre-eminently, this is the spirit which India needs in the missionary movement to-day. There is need for men who will not be afraid to try new methods, and to abandon old ones when they have ceased to fulfil the function for which they were designed. It is far harder now than it was in Duff's day to grasp the Indian situation as a whole : it has grown so much more complex. Methods and types of organization stand in need now, no less than then, of judgment in light of the end they are to subserve, but the missionary machine has grown so great that it is a matter of infinite difficulty to exercise any such

judgment. When great buildings, great sums of money, the habits and outlook of hundreds of tried workers, and a long and (let it be added) an honourable tradition, all point to continuance in the old methods, change is not easy.

Yet there is an essential similarity between the crisis which Duff met, and the crisis we have to meet to-day. He came to India when the ancient Indian systems of government had crumbled into ruin, and the terrific forces of the modern world were just beginning to break in upon the Indian people. He determined to make a great effort to capture the mind of the Indian nation for Christ, for he knew that there alone lay power and life. We to-day are, without doubt, witnessing a rebirth in India. There is in the present patriotic movement a reality of moral power which is deeply impressive to the Westerner who views it from without. Along with certain negative elements, there are great positive and constructive forces at work, and there are thousands of young Indians who are ready and longing to spend themselves in the service of the motherland.

How are we, who believe that Jesus Christ is the Way, the Truth, and the Life, to show Him forth to this new and tumultuous and enquiring India, so that He may be seen not as of Britain or of the West, but as the Son of Man ?

Christian education is as important to-day as it ever was, but it cannot in the future occupy that large space of the whole Indian field which has been allotted to it in the past. There is only one way in which it can continue and even increase its service to India, and that is by compensating for decreased

quantity (not only relatively to the whole but also absolutely) by improved quality. There are enough first-rate missionary educators in India and there is enough vision and faith to make the Christian contribution to education more notable to-day than ever before. But this can only be done if the bravest counsels prevail. Institutions will have to be united, and some old traditions broken, and every step taken that will help to produce what India is crying for to-day—education which makes for true character and prepares for life, and is so instinct with the spirit of Christ that His message is conveyed to all who come within its sphere.

There is need too for men and women to work in close contact with the great masses of Indian student life, perhaps using hostels or clubs as their medium, but largely free from routine duties so that they may be able to exercise the ministry of friendship.

India presents innumerable points where intelligent social service is needed, and there are few ways so good as that of practical service for demonstrating the real spirit of Jesus Christ. The great outcaste communities, with their illiteracy, debt and destitution, are a challenge to-day to every Christian in India to show how economic redemption and the spread of sound rural education can be interpreters of Christ.

Perhaps most of all the present hour calls for a truly Indian Church, able by its own spontaneous Christian initiative to show Jesus Christ to India. In the end India will only be won by religion, and Christianity is above all things the breaking into human life of a new and divine Life. We have already won more of the mind of India than of her

heart. Men are willing to take the teaching of Jesus as a model where they are not willing to surrender themselves to Him in love and adoration. Only an Indian Church, renewed and strengthened by the Divine Spirit, can so move Indian hearts. So it is that amid all the endless talk and argument among Christians in India to-day, whether Indian or foreign, concerning the powers of the indigenous Church, there lies waiting to be born this great and lovely thing—the true Church of Christ in India, the voice by which He speaks to the heart of India, the hands by which He touches India, the feet on which He goes to her.

It is here that the foreigner, who comes like Alexander Duff from a far-away land to India, desiring only to serve her for Christ's sake, can most truly fulfil his vocation. He can lay his life alongside that of his Indian brothers, fellow-servants of their common Lord, receiving from them and giving to them, counting it a very precious service that he can help them, by whatever experience God has given him, in their sacred task of lifting up the Son of Man.

## CHAPTER XV

### THE MAN HIMSELF

The main characteristic of Duff as a man seems to have been his complete devotion to his work, and his absorption, to the almost total exclusion of smaller interests, in the sacred cause to which he had given his life. His own personal character was marked by a certain massive Puritanism. The influences of that rugged Calvinism in which he was reared in his Highland home stayed with him all his life, and amid all the varied activities of an Indian career, and through lifelong intimacies with men of other traditions than his own, he maintained the simplicity and austerity of his own attitude towards the world.

He is in consequence one of those figures in which one finds few of the playful, charming features which help the student in later years to gain some impression of the inner nature of a man apart from his work and career. The enthusiasm for his missionary labours was almost entirely untempered by that saving gift of humour which is so large a constituent of personal charm. His children felt this lack in him. His son's memoir contains a rather pathetic reference to the contrast between their father and the famous Dr Guthrie of Edinburgh, of whom, he says, "the wit, the humour, the pathos, the anecdote, the rollicking fun could not be forgotten

—and to me they were especially remarkable because of the entire contrast to my own father. He had no wit, no humour, and still less of rollicking fun." [1]

The immensely long speeches might have been shorter if he had had some of that spirit of genial self-criticism which is so closely allied to humour. No one with a sense of humour could have delivered those lectures which he gave to a generation of theological students in Scotland. And even his utterly genuine and self-sacrificing acceptance of poverty and plainness of life for the Gospel's sake was accompanied by the same lack of humour when he applied his own standards to others. He is said to have sternly reproved his colleague, Dr Thomas Smith, for the length of his whiskers, alleging that they savoured of worldliness, and were inappropriate to the character of a missionary of the Gospel! A younger colleague, who joined the Calcutta Mission towards the end of Duff's period of service, was somewhat surprised to find the veteran missionary and his companions solemnly consuming slices of bread and jam in a deserted classroom during the college luncheon interval. Anything more adequate, to say nothing of going home for lunch, would have seemed to Duff far too luxurious for a missionary.

It is probable that this intense and scrupulous absorption in the work of his calling did in actual fact injure his family life. His wife was completely devoted to him and to his work, and without her and her self-effacing service there is no doubt that Duff could never have accomplished the prodigies of work which we have recorded. His son says

[1] *Memorials of Alexander Duff, D.D.*, by his son, p. 10.

that she never left the house except on Sundays, and for a month in the cold weather when her husband went on tour to the country districts and the carriage was at her disposal. The letters which passed between them show the depth and constancy of the affection they had for each other, and yet one cannot but wonder whether so great a self-abnegation is not more than a man has a right to accept from his wife.

To his children the absorption of their father in his work meant a real loss. Even on furlough he seemed too engrossed to give them the attention they craved. His son tells how he accompanied his parents to London on their departure for India in 1855:

> It was in the old days before Charing Cross Station or Victoria existed, and I well remember the toilsome drive from Hampstead to London Bridge; I also well remember how my mother's and my own heart were wellnigh breaking, and how at London Bridge my father possessed himself of the morning's *Times*, and left us to cry our eyes out in mutual sorrow. . . . And so we parted . . . a sadder parting as between mother and son there never was. The father buried in his *Times*, and controlled by his strong sense of Carlylean duty, parted from the son without any regret on the latter's part.[1]

It was from this "Carlylean sense of duty" that the masterfulness sprang which, justly or unjustly, was associated with him in the minds of younger men in his later years. He was so unsparing of himself that he could not be patient with incompetence in others, and he even tended to be impatient of difference in methods. A younger missionary tells how Duff came into his class one

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 107.

day and disapproving of the way in which the lesson was being conducted reprimanded him before all the students. He went to Duff after the lecture and remonstrated, saying that he did not in the least mind being corrected but that it should not be done in the presence of the class. Duff instantly displayed the deepest concern and remorse, and made the most profuse and obviously heart-felt apologies. It had simply not occurred to him that his action was out of place. His keenness about the work swamped all other feelings in his mind. But it is also characteristic of him that when his error was pointed out to him he made full and generous amends.

As we have seen, he welcomed the poverty of the missionary's life and was even jealous of attempts to mitigate it. His son, knowing what his parents' life had been, was justly indignant at the strictures passed by travellers upon the small and occasional luxuries which were all that a man like Duff could ever afford. Perhaps the supporters of missionary work do not always realize the particularly difficult trials in this respect which come to the married missionary. Men or women who live in a brotherhood or community often gain the credit (this may be said without any suggestion that their purity of motive or the depth of their devotion are questioned) of a degree of simplicity of life to which the missionary living in a family does not attain. In certain respects this may be so. The community is able to make a cleaner cut with European ways and standards of living. But the missionary with children has to keep up a family on a smaller salary than almost any other white man abroad, he has to face both

the pain and the expense of separation from his wife or his children or both, and he has often to feel himself dependent on the goodwill of others if he is to have any chance of educating his children as he himself was educated. Sometimes the children feel this afterwards more than their parents do. Duff lets no word fall about this side of his life, and yet for a part of his children's education, and for the travel which at one point probably saved his life or at least prolonged its usefulness, he had to be dependent on the charity of others. If he had been a small man he would have resented the thought that he, whose advice was sought by Parliament and Governor-General, could not do for his own sons what almost any man in commerce or in Government service could do for his.

We urge this point (which Duff like any other missionary would never urge for himself) because it enables the student of Duff's life to measure the enthusiasm and devotion which banished all these thoughts from his mind, and enabled him through the course of a long life, at the end of which only had he a comfortable income, to carry on his multifarious labours and maintain a spirit of peace through it all.

It has been necessary to mention the limitations in Duff's character for they are integral to the whole, and as in the case of so many great men his weaknesses throw into relief the splendid qualities of which they are the defects. But though we have used the word "Puritan" of Duff, it should be made plain that he had a wealth of emotional and æsthetic power which is often (and wrongly) regarded as alien to the Puritan temper. We have quoted enough of his

speeches to make it plain that he had a great reserve of passion which he could convey by the medium of speech, and when he was deeply moved—as on the subject of India's need for Christ, or at the thought of his Scottish fatherland, or when portraying the power and message of the Gospel—he could show the soul of the artist.

Moreover, this emotional power is directly related to that same overwhelming religious conviction which, as we have seen, dominated his whole life. It is the sense, burnt into his very soul, of the forgiving love of God, that gives fire and beauty to his speech. One feels that whatever may have been Duff's own regard for Thomas Carlyle, "Carlylean" as an adjective does not fit him very well. Certainly he speaks of Duty, but he has himself fused Duty and Joy into one, and it is impossible to read his speeches without feeling that here is one to whom it is a delight to do the will of his Master.

The remarkable tribute paid by Sir Henry Maine, which we quoted on an earlier page (p. 176), suggests as not the least remarkable of the traits of Duff's character his belief in the "harmony of truth." The speaker in paying this tribute called attention to the rarity, in his experience, with which this quality was united to evangelical fervour. It is precisely this union of the two qualities which is conspicuous in Duff, and in an analysis of his character nothing more clearly bespeaks his greatness. Again and again in his speeches and writings, most of all perhaps in his defence of his educational policy, we find him insisting on the sacredness of all truth, welcoming fresh studies in his college because nothing that is true can be other than welcome to the Christian, and most of all

defending the gift of education on the ground that all knowledge is of God and that truth will drive out superstition.

It is perhaps the case with Duff, as with other great men of his time, that this spaciousness of mind and fundamental tolerance are more clearly seen in the perspective of his whole life, than at close quarters by his contemporaries, especially by those who were young when he was old. There is a sentence in his son's memoir of him which indicates this :

> Dr Duff's life and character will always be liable to two very opposite judgments. On the one hand, those who still cherish attachment to old evangelical truths will look on his career as a very honoured one, and will see no mark of failure in the seed he was privileged to sow in India. On the other, the new school of theologians, and all who, perhaps not openly, but certainly covertly, are disciples of Mr Carlyle, will look upon his career as a wasted one.[1]

Such a statement is clearly dictated by the generous resentment of the son against misunderstanding of his father on the part of men who did not know the full greatness of his career, and who judged him mainly or entirely by the impression he made upon them in old age. It is very probable that at the end of his life Duff gave the impression of being intellectually reactionary. We have said that in the matter of the Robertson-Smith case he was very definitely on the side of those who condemned the professor root and branch. Others, like Dr Rainy, were not prepared to condemn the teaching although they, not perhaps on the highest grounds but from considerations of expediency, wished to see the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. vi.

teacher removed from his teaching office. Duff held that Robertson-Smith's critical views of the Bible should not be tolerated in the Church. He could view with the greatest equanimity the appearance of unorthodox views among scholars in circles outside the range of the organized teaching Church, but it was his view that inside the ranks of the Church such opinions should not be permitted.

It is certainly disconcerting to find Duff professing this conviction at the end of his life, but it is easily explicable. For one thing, he had been brought up in a strictly evangelical circle, and it was precisely those circles that most strongly condemned Smith's teaching. In other directions his masterful intellect and breadth of interests had freed him from trammels which clung to other men of his generation and intellectual upbringing, and it is always to be remembered that those who came of the same devotional and intellectual stock as himself, and had not been brought into contact with his winning speech and evangelistic fervour, tended to oppose his educational methods as secularist. But in this matter of the nature and structure of the Bible he did not apply the standards which ruled him in other departments of thought, and those who, coming with fresher minds to this problem, found him as they thought obscurantist, perhaps did not consider how far they themselves could claim to be rigorously logical in the application of their own principles of thought to all departments of life.

Moreover, the whole question of Biblical criticism was in Duff's day almost new to the average member of the Christian Church in Britain. It is not easy now, when both the critical method and its main

results have been incorporated into the mind of the Church and the relations between criticism and religious experience are clearly seen, to enter into the difficulties of that day when faith for many of the most honest and sincere minds was difficult, when Darwinism had demolished many of the most cherished intellectual defences of orthodoxy, and it was easy for men to feel that if any of the old infallibilities were to be shaken they had no sure resting-place remaining to them.

There is another issue on which to modern minds Duff may seem to have been illiberal—the attitude of the missionary to the faiths of the non-Christian world. We have said that he was not an Orientalist. He was tolerably learned in the Indian religions, but he had not the scholarly interest in them which has distinguished many men since his day in his own communion and outside it. He thought of Hinduism as an evil thing, a darkness and infamy from which he had to rescue its victims. He did not understand its power, and though he knew better than to talk with the facile optimism of Macaulay, he spoke and wrote of it in a somewhat summary style.

Here again, the most that can fairly be said is that Duff was not in advance of his age. The days of the careful and sympathetic examination of the higher Hinduism by European scholars were hardly beginning. Duff saw very clearly, as any one who lives in India must see, the squalor and vileness of a great deal of popular Hinduism. He did not understand, for he had no material to guide him, the inner powers of Hinduism, which have made of it under the stress of the Christian onslaught almost a new thing. It would not be far short of the mark to say that it

was he and men like him who set at work the forces which have profoundly modified Hinduism, and have caused Hindus themselves to seek in Hinduism a religious satisfaction the need of which was first awakened in them by Christian teaching.

But we have utterly failed to portray Duff if we have not conveyed some sense of the massiveness and sincerity of his mind. He was a great reader, a man of wide knowledge and interests, with a comprehensiveness of grasp which is the stamp of greatness. He lost two libraries, and built up yet a third, but he never ceased to mourn the loss of his books and looked on this last of his libraries as but a makeshift. He was to hundreds of Bengalis the embodiment of intellectual fearlessness and faith. When he came to Calcutta the ferment of a new age had begun, and this young Scotsman, coming out of his purely Scottish and evangelical tradition, instantly and with an incomparable courage and mastery set out to stem the tide of dogmatic irreligion, and claimed that in his Master India could find One in whom the demands of truth were met. He was not afraid of "dangerous" movements of thought, he did not shudder in horror at the atheism of the young Bengali liberals, he did not "tremble for the ark of God," for he had a sublime confidence in the truth of his message, and therefore in its compatibility with all other truth.

As a final proof of this, let us recollect again what has been said of his attitude to education. He never used the ignoble plea, not unknown in later days, that education was a kind of "bait" to attract non-Christians to the Gospel. It was the very light of God to Duff, and while he felt it to

be incomplete and even dangerous when divorced from religion, education was not to him a thing separate from religion but the two were warp and woof. The whole world of reality, fact and idea, was God's; Christ was the centre of it and the key to its mysteries; and it was his privilege to introduce his pupils to the world that God had made, and to help them to understand both the variety of its outer manifestation and the inner soul and meaning of it all. Education therefore was not a thing extraneous to the missionary's purpose, but of its essence.

Another notable missionary quality that Duff possessed was his love for Indians and his friendship with them. The modern reader, and not least the Indian reader, will find things in his writings and speeches which seem to contradict this. Duff lived in a day when the superciliousness of Englishmen abroad had not yet made the word "native" one that Indians justly resent, and he used it habitually in a way that no one of his ideals and outlook would now do. Moreover, he was possessed of a very thorough and unwavering conviction that the British Government of India was providentially ordained, and he does not, so far as one can judge from his letters and speeches, seem to have indulged in any speculations as to the ultimate destiny of the British Raj, or to have looked forward definitely to a day when Indians should themselves enter into the charge of their own inheritance.

These things, however, which cannot but strike a modern reader, ought not to distract attention from the real attitude of the man to his Indian friends. It is said that in his later years he grew somewhat

overbearing, and he acquired so great a prestige in Calcutta that it would be surprising if he had not in some measure been affected by it. Yet he had many close and intimate friendships. It is manifest that of those first converts some, if not all, were drawn mainly by the personal influence which Duff exerted over them. He became known in every student haunt in Calcutta. He went to the students' debating societies, and he became a personal friend to many of the men. The amazing effects of his work were not produced merely by the eloquence of his speech or the cogency of his teaching. He was a man on fire with his message, and in constant and intimate touch with the students and graduates who flocked about him. It was this intimate contact of his vivid personality that was the vehicle of his power. We have quoted his letter to Dr K. M. Banerjea, written in old age. It was memories like these, not of places only, or events or old achievements, but of men he had known and loved, that came back to him and cheered him in the end of his days.

Probably there has been no missionary in India since his day who has rivalled his influence and popularity—if "popularity" is not the wrong word to use of the veneration excited by Alexander Duff. No doubt his eloquence was an important element in this wide influence he exerted. One of his old students, not a Christian, says that

> if it was announced that a lecture or an address was to be given by Dr Duff, people used to flock to the spot in large numbers, not only from all parts of the city, but from the far-distant suburbs, be the weather fair or foul. . . . His eloquence has been likened to the cataract of

Niagara. But in our own country, the Nerbudda fall, the greatest in all India, might also give you an adequate conception of the force and grandeur of the eloquence of that great man. Whilst standing on the brow of the hill and witnessing the stately Nerbudda dashing down with a force and impetuosity that baffle all powers of description, I was literally lost in wonder in the midst of the land of liquid splendour. But the thundering tongue of Dr Duff—a thunderer in the best sense of the term he decidedly was—his luxuriant imagination, inexhaustible fund of words, incomparable command of language, profound erudition and gorgeous intellect, and above all his unbounded love towards his fellow-men, be they white or be they black, exercised on me a greater spell than this grand phenomenon in the material world.[1]

It is possible even to-day, in conversation with men whose fathers knew and revered Duff, to recapture something of that amazing time when the young missionary was the best known, best hated, and best loved man in Calcutta and when his touch was almost magical in its effects both on individuals and on Calcutta society. Partly it was his intellectual brilliance and courage, partly his powers of speech, in great part it was his love for the men among whom he worked—the same Bengali whose tribute has just been quoted speaks again of him as "a visible impersonation of the omnipotence of Christian love."[2] But the foundation on which all these things were built, and the deepest secret of his personality, was his simple and consuming religious devotion.

We have said something already of the Calvinist and Puritan religion in which he was nurtured and which remained probably the backbone of his personal faith until he died. But it is interesting

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 45. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

to see how, as his life went on, he embraced ever wider spiritual loyalties. It is a catholic personality to which both Carlyle and Newman can make the intense appeal which they made to Duff. Yet Duff's son tells us that "his daily meditations were fed by the devotional works of Cardinal Newman and Dr Pusey," [1] and his affection for Newman is testified to by others who knew him intimately. Of his regard for Carlyle his son gives evidence:

> A favourite and oft-repeated expression of his was, "I would not care to say it on the housetops in Scotland, but next to the Bible, I owe most to Thomas Carlyle." And let me name a touching incident. When I opened his desk after his death, I found carefully concealed in a secret drawer two photographs and two only, the one of Mr Carlyle, the other of Mr Gladstone.[2]

This catholicity into which his spirit grew was the outcome of the utter simplicity of his self-surrender to his Master. Wherever he found the note of genuine Christian devotion, there he was at home. Prejudices he had, likes and dislikes, but even when he disliked and distrusted a system intensely, as he certainly disliked both sacerdotalism and ritualism, he was none the less open to acknowledge genuine Christian feeling in men who professed these or other ways of Christian thought. He was full of the joy of the disciple when he discovered another who loved the same Lord.

His own expression of Christianity was what may very roughly be called Pauline rather than Johannine. We feel as we read his speeches, and even more as we read some of his most intimate letters to his wife and his children, that the ruling fact of his whole

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 7. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 111.

life is the sense that his sins were forgiven through the atoning death of Jesus Christ. He has the conviction of his utter unworthiness, the knowledge of his own weakness, the never-ceasing wonder that such a one as he should be used in God's employment, which we find in the lives of so many of the truest and best Christians. Here is a passage from a letter written to his daughter when he was on his tour through the missions of South India.

> Why should I, who have been the child of so many mercies, be faithless or doubting? If any man living should trust in the Lord absolutely, and cast upon him the burden of all his cares, personal, social, official, domestic, surely I am that man. All my days I have been a child of Providence, the Lord leading me and guiding me in ways unknown to me—in ways of His own, and for the accomplishment of His own heavenly ends. Oh, that I were more worthy! But, somehow, I feel as if the more marvellous the Lord's dealings with me, the more cold, heartless and indifferent I become. Is not this sad—is it not terrible? All the finer ores are melted by the fire—the earthly clay is hardened. Oh gracious God, forbid that this should continue to be my doleful case! May I not resemble the clay any more! May I be like the gold and silver ore; when warmed and heated by the fire of Thy loving kindnesses, may I be melted, fused, purified, refined, assimilated to Thy own holy nature. O Lord, soften, break, melt this hard heart of mine![1]

But if he had all the Pauline self-abasement, he had the Pauline joy and triumph too. His rejoicing was not in what he had done, but in what God had done. His Master had loved him and given Himself for him, and not for him only but for the whole world of men. Difficulties and dangers, barriers

[1] Smith, Vol. II. p. 124.

between black and white, questions of expediency and counsels of caution, all were reduced to nothing by this wonderful fact of the love of God in Christ. When he pleads with great audiences for the cause of missions, or asks why it is that the most notable leaders, the princes of the Church, do not go forth to the work, it is not with a mere rhetorical irony that he speaks but with a quite honest amazement. For to him it was self-evident that no man on whose soul had dawned the knowledge of the Divine sacrifice could do less than offer himself, body, soul and spirit, to the cause of the Master who had made his darkness into light. *Pro tanto quid retribuamus?*

. . . . . .

There are some great lives in which the inner quality of greatness is not seen until wellnigh the close of the career, for all the time the man is growing, and each event of life is preparing him for the supreme crisis when he is to show what manner of man he is. Perhaps the most notable of all such lives is that of Abraham Lincoln. There we see a man who comes to his full stature, as it were, only when the need of his country is sorest; when, if he fails, all is lost. We do not understand the true Lincoln until we have followed him through to the end. There are other lives where the opposite is true, where the vital choice, the supremely revealing action, comes early in the tale, and the rest is the unfolding of what is implicit in that first victory.

To this latter class Alexander Duff most emphatically belongs. For he made his great contribution to Indian policy and chose the line which was to be of such profound importance for the future of Indian education only a few weeks after

he had arrived in India when he was a young man of twenty-four. The rest of his life was spent in working out the full implications of that first momentous choice. He had to develop his college, to guard it against the assaults of enemies at home and abroad, to watch that the policy of Government gave sufficient place to the kind of institution he desired to create, to give help and encouragement to those who were trying to copy the same methods and ideas in other parts of India. But never again had he the same choice to make; never again did such vast issues depend upon his thought and his action.

It is the Alexander Duff of the early days, more than the mature missionary or the Church leader at home, that lingers in our thoughts as we turn away from the record of his life. He is a young man's hero. In those first few years in India he showed not only fortitude and willingness to face opposition and unpopularity—for these are not uncommon virtues among men—but also that insight, that comprehensiveness of grasp, and that ability to separate the essential from the secondary, which are the marks of greatness. It was then that he was most truly himself, then that he found his kingdom waiting and entered into it.

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